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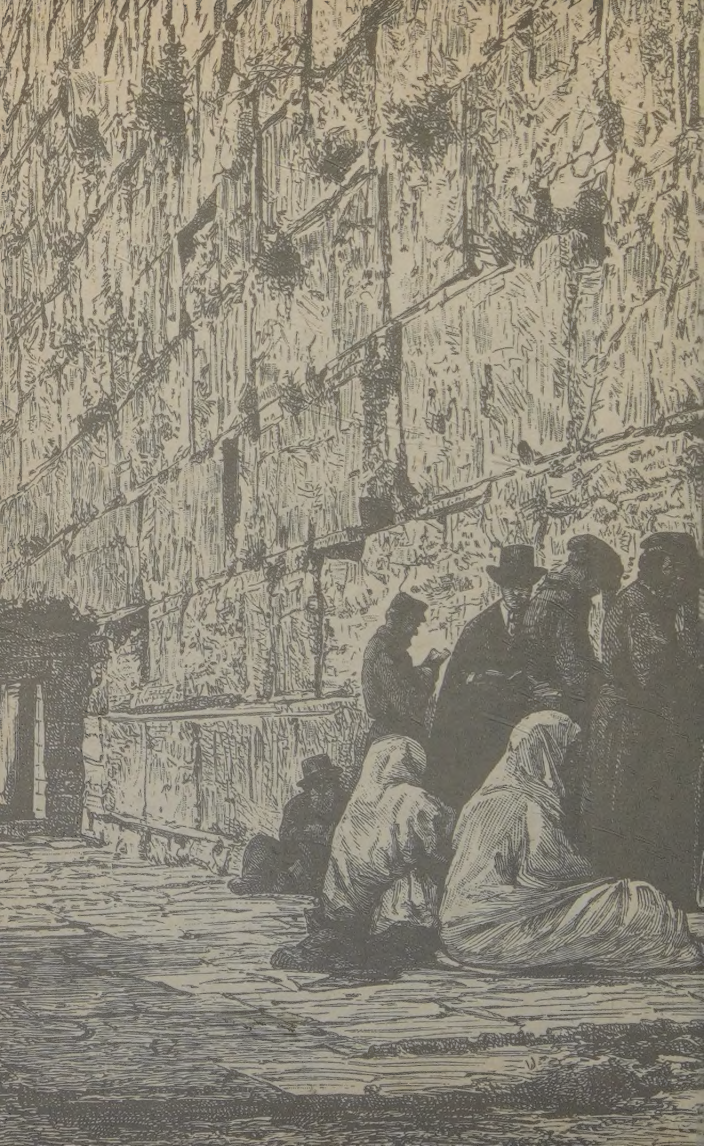
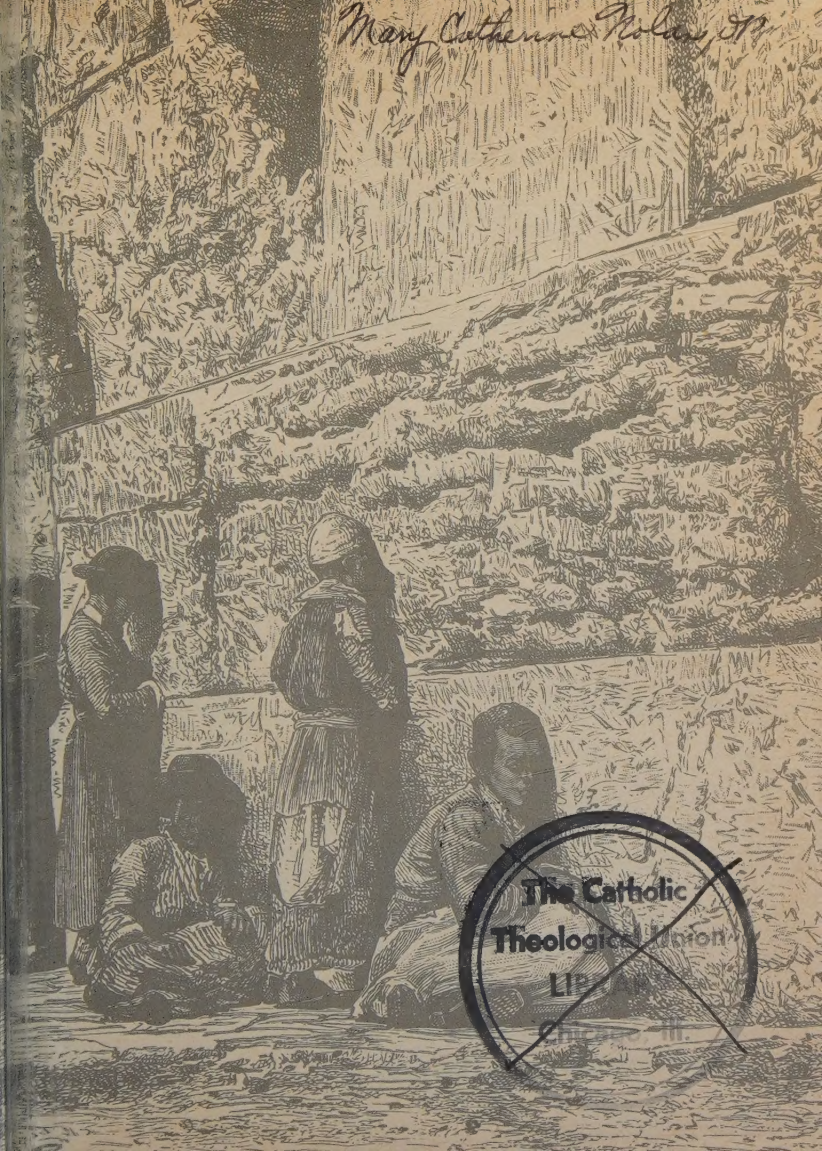
HISTORY OF JERUSALEM

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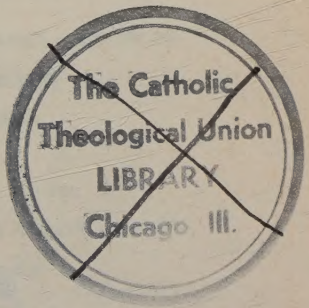
JERUSALEM



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JERUSALEM

THE TOPOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS AND HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO A.D. 70

BY

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

PAGE

68, footnote 2: xi. *read* xli.
97, line 18: *delete* second.
175, footnote 1: 1 Kings *read* 2 Kings.
253, line 21: *read* 'Ebed-Melek.
253, footnote 2: *read* xxxviii. 13.
278, footnote 3: the last sentence belongs to the next footnote.
281, verse 11: for *It* read It.
309, footnote 6: see, however, 2 Chron. iv. 9.
327, lines 16 ff.
331, footnote 1.
333, footnote 1.
334, line 9.
} The Appendix referred to in these passages has been crowded out. Instead of it I beg to refer the reader to my article on the subject, *Expositor*, July 1906.

TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL STAGES IN THE HISTORY OF JERUSALEM

	B.C.
Settlements of the Stone Age	*c.* 3000
Settlement of a Semitic Tribe (With mixture of other elements, *e.g.* Hittite, according to some authorities.)	*after* 2500
Chief Town of a small principality, under 'Abd Khiba, a vassal of Egypt	*c.* 1400
The Capital of All-Israel, under David	*c.* 1000
The Building of the Temple under Solomon	*c.* 970
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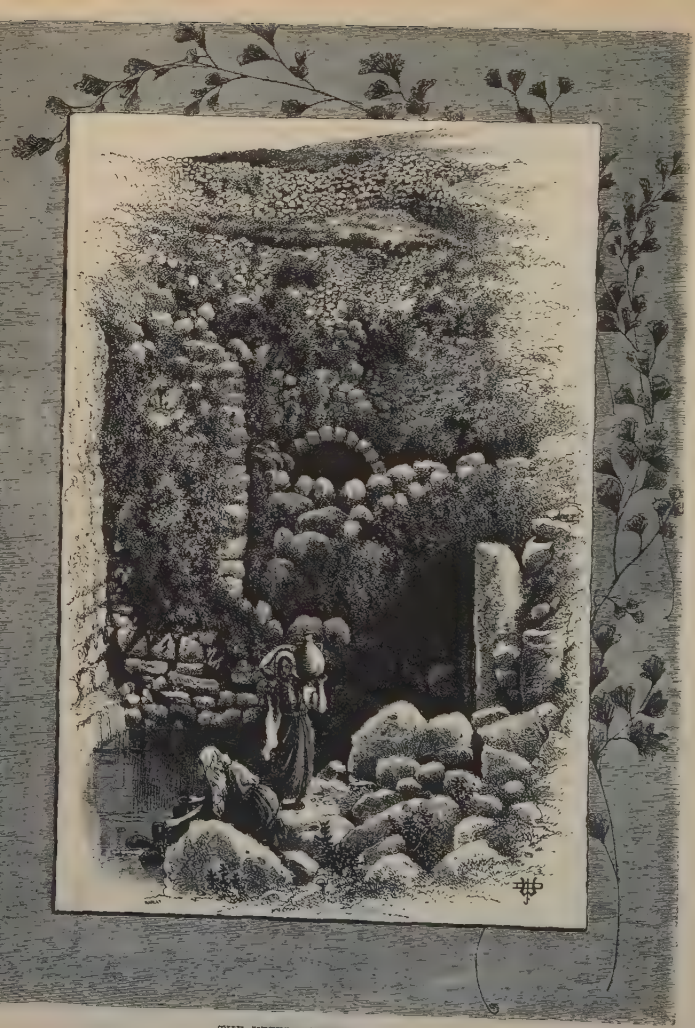

THE UPPER POOL OF SILOAM.

Its walls are covered with mosses and ferns, especially the maidenhair fern with which the picture is appropriately bordered.

CHAPTER I

THE PRELUDE—ABD-KHIBA

c. 1400 B.C.

THE histories of most famous cities melt back, through the pride of their peoples or the hatred of their foes, into legendary tales of their origins, which find their exact moulds sometimes in the memory of an actual fact, sometimes in a religious symbol, but often in more or less fantastic etymologies of the city's name. Of such legends Jerusalem has her share. We have seen the rabbinic fable associating her name with two of the early Patriarchs.[1] Josephus, followed by many Jews and Christians, identified the Temple Mount with a 'Mount Moriah,' which he took to be the scene of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac; but the Biblical story of the latter knows no 'mount' so called.[2] The accounts of Jerusalem's origin, which are due to the fancy, not untouched by malice, of Egyptians or Greeks, either connect the late form Hierosolyma with the Solymi of Homer, or ascribe the formation of the City to a band of refugees from Egypt, some say in the leadership of Moses.[3] We now know that

Legends of the City's Origins.

[1] Vol. i. 258 *n.* 1. [2] Vol. i. 267.

[3] For Manetho's story, see Jos. *C. Apion.* i. 14 f., 26 f. (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* ii. 511 ff.). Of Greek accounts these are samples: Hecatæus of Abdera (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* ii. 391); Posidonius of Apamæa (*Id.* 256); Lysimachus of Alexandria (Jos. *C. Ap.* i. 34; Müller, iii. 334 f.); cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 2. Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 31) dismisses a curious legend as a confusion of Egyptian and Jewish reports. On the Solymi see vol. i. 262.

Jerusalem, under that name, existed before the arrival of Israel in the land; and the sole fact of importance which these legends reflect—the most wandering fancy could not have missed it—is her debatable position between Egypt and Babylonia. For the compound name Jerusalem various etymologies are possible. But there is no doubt of its Semitic origin; and, as we have seen, it was bestowed more probably by Canaanite settlers than by Babylonian conquerors of Palestine.[1]

The Stone-Age.

We have also seen that these Semitic settlers from Arabia had, about 2500 B.C., succeeded men of another race belonging to the Stone-Age. The presence of this race in Palestine is beyond doubt. Something of their personal appearance and manner of life has been illustrated by discoveries on other parts of the land; while their occupation of the site or neighbourhood of Jerusalem is proved by the great numbers of flint weapons and tools which have been picked up within her surroundings.[2] But the Stone-Men lie beyond the limits of history proper.

Sober Entrance of Jerusalem into History, *c.* 1400 B.C.

If we leave aside the ambiguous narrative in Genesis xiv., the earliest written records of Jerusalem present her as entering history with a plain and sober air, singularly in keeping with that absence of glamour which we have noted in her clear atmosphere and grey surroundings.[3] Among the archives of the Egyptian court, about B.C. 1400, there have been discovered a small number of clay tablets, seven or eight in all: letters from Jerusalem which describe her condition in plaintive detail and with no

[1] Vol. i. 253-58. [2] Vol. i. 283-88. [3] Vol. i. 22.

touch of the ideal. They invoke no deity, they assert no confidence, material or spiritual. They speak only of the City's loneliness, her disappointment in her protectors, her abandonment to an approaching foe. Yet even so, these tablets are more symbolic of the history of Jerusalem than any legend or prophecy could have been. Their tone is in unison with the dominant notes of the long tragedy to which they form the prelude. They express that sense of betrayal and of vanishing hope in the powers of this world which haunts Jerusalem to the very end.

Already in touch with Babylon and Egypt.

Nor is it less typical of the course of her history that the tablets reveal Jerusalem as already under the influence of the two great civilisations, which, between them, shaped the fortunes and coloured the character of her people. The tablets are written in the cuneiform script, and in the language, of Babylonia: a proof that the influences of this most ancient seat of human culture already ran strong across Western Asia. The politics, which the tablets reveal, have their centre at the other side of the world, with Babylonia's age-long rival. Jerusalem is a tributary and outpost of Egypt; and Egypt is detected in that same attitude of helplessness towards her Asian vassals which is characteristic of her throughout history. As in the days of Isaiah, she is *Rahab that sitteth still*; promising much, but when the crisis arrives, inactive and unwilling to fulfil her pledges.[1] As in the days of Jeremiah, the expected *King of Egypt cometh not any more out of his land*,[2] and Jerusalem is left alone to face a foe from the north. Other instances may be

[1] Isaiah xxx. 7. [2] 2 Kings xxv. 7.

cited. When Antiochus Epiphanes took Jerusalem in 168 B.C., and desecrated the Temple, Judæa was still claimed by the Ptolemy of the time, but he did not stir to her help. Down to the retreat of Ibrahim Pasha in 1841, Egypt, whether because of the intervening desert or the fitful prowess of her people, has been unable, for any long period, to detach Palestine from Asia and bind it to the southern continent.

Egyptian Dominion in Palestine, 1600-1200 B.C.

Soon after 1600 B.C. Egypt, under the Eighteenth Dynasty, began a series of campaigns in Syria, which carried her arms (on one occasion at least) to the Euphrates, and reduced the states of Palestine for four centuries to more or less regular dependence upon her. No fewer than fourteen of these campaigns were undertaken by Thutmosis III. about 1500 B.C. He defeated, at Megiddo, a powerful Canaanite confederacy, but left to his successors, Amenḥotep II. and Thutmosis IV., the reduction of some separate tribes. So far as we know, the next Pharaoh, Amenḥotep (Amenophis) III., enjoyed without interruption the obedience of his Asian vassals. By his only possible rivals, the kings of Mesopotamia and Babylonia, he was recognised as sovereign of Syria, and his influence extended northwards to Armenia. His vast empire, his lavish building throughout Egypt and Nubia, his magnificent temples at Thebes, his mines and organisation of trade, his wealth, along with the art and luxury which prevailed under all the monarchs of his dynasty, and their influence on the Greek world—represent the zenith of Egyptian civilisation. Whether, in his security and under the zeal with which he gave himself to the improvement of his own land, Amenḥotep III. neglected

the Asian provinces of his empire, is uncertain. In any case he was succeeded by a son whose interests in Egypt were still more engrossing, and who for this or other reasons was unable to preserve the conquests of his predecessors. Amenḥotep IV. was that singular monarch who effected a temporary revolution in the religion and art of Egypt. Turning his back upon Amōn and the other ancient gods, he spent his reign in the establishment of the exclusive worship of Aten, the Sun's Disk, and in the construction of a centre for this and a capital for himself. He introduced styles of art as novel as his religious opinions; free and natural, but without other proofs of ability. Absorbed in these pursuits, Amenḥotep IV. was the last kind of ruler to meet, or even to heed, the new movements in Asia which threatened his empire. Across the Euphrates lay three considerable kingdoms: Babylonia, then under a Kassite dynasty; Assyria, her young vassal, but already strong enough to strike for independence; and Mitanni, a state of Hittite origin in Northern Mesopotamia. It was not, however, from these, divided and jealous of each other, that danger had to be feared by Egypt. From Asia Minor, the main branch of the Hittite race, the Kheta or Khatti were pushing south-east, alike upon their kinsfolk of Mitanni, and upon the Egyptian tributaries in Northern Syria.

Amenḥotep IV., *c.* 1400 B.C.

It is beneath this noontide, and approaching eclipse, of Egypt's glory that Jerusalem emerges into history. The correspondence, of which her eight clay tablets form a small portion, was discovered at Tell el-'Amarna, in Middle Egypt, the site of the capital of Amenḥotep IV. It was conducted

The Tell el-Amarna Letters.

between his father and himself on the one side, and the Trans-Euphrates kingdoms and the Syrian feudatories of Egypt on the other.[1] Through it we see, passing over Palestine, a close and frequent communication between the Nile and the Euphrates.

Their human interest.

The human interest of these Letters is intense: kings at peace, but in jealous watch of each other, their real tempers glowing through a surface of hypocrisy. They marry and give in marriage; they complain that they cannot get evidence whether their daughters or sisters sent abroad for this purpose are alive or well treated; they appeal to the women of the courts which they seek to influence. Above all they are greedy of gold, of which Egypt is the source; one alleges that a present of gold-ore, when it arrives, yields less than the promised value, another that wooden images have been sent instead of golden. One even grumbles that his royal brother has not inquired for him when he was ill.[2] There is some humour, much cunning, and once (if the interpretation be correct) a

[1] The tablets of Tell el-Amarna are now in Berlin and London. The following facts, recorded in them, are taken from H. Winckler's transliteration and translation in *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*: Berlin, 1896. In the following references B., followed by a figure, signifies the Berlin collection; L. the London collection; and W. Winckler's rearrangement and numbering of the letters. Knudtzon, in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iv. pp. 101 ff., 279 ff., gives some revision of the tablets, with corrections of earlier readings and translations. An account of the substance of the tablets is given by C. Niebuhr in *Die Amarna-Zeit*, the second Heft of vol. i. of *Der Alte Orient*, and by Wallis Budge in the last chapter of vol. iv. of his *History of Egypt*. See also Winckler, pp. 192-203 of the third edition of Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, and Sayce on 'Canaan in the Century before the Exodus,' *Contemporary Review*, lxxxviii. (1905) 264-277.

[2] B. 7: W. 10.

frank proposal of villainy.[1] Between these very human courts and their countries there moves a constant commerce: 'Write me what thou desirest from my land, they will bring it thee, and what I desire from thy land, I will write thee, that they may bring it.'[2] For the Egyptian gold and oil, the states of the Euphrates send manufactured gold, precious stones, enamel, chariots, horses, and slaves. These are not all royal presents. A Mesopotamian king complains that his merchants have been robbed in Canaan, Pharaoh's territory. Caravans cross Palestine or pass from it into Egypt. Phœnician ships, not without danger from Lycian corsairs, bring to Egypt copper, bronze, ivory, ships' furniture, and horses from Alashia, either Cyprus or Northern Syria. They take back silver, oil and oxen.[3] One letter begs the king of Egypt not to allow the writer's merchants to be wronged by his tax-gatherers (?).[4] Such are a few of the many details: so many, and so intimate, that it may be truly said, before the Roman Empire there is no period for which we have records more replete with the details of social intercourse or with revelations of personal character and policy. All is vivid, passionate, frank. Of this busy, human life, thirty-three centuries ago, Jerusalem was a part, lying not far from one of its main arteries.

[1] B. 9: W. 15: 'Why should the ambassadors not remain on the journey, so that they die in foreign parts? If they remain in foreign parts, the estate belongs to the king. Therefore when he (thy present ambassador) remains on his journey and dies, then will the estate belong to the king. There is therefore no [reason why we should fear] that the ambassadors die in foreign parts, whom we send . . . the ambassadors . . . and . . . and die in foreign parts.'

[2] B. 1: W. 6.

[3] L. 5-7 and B. 11-15: W. 25-33.

[4] B. 12: W. 29.

The Letters from Palestine.

The letters from the chiefs of Palestine, among whom the ruler of Jerusalem was one, reveal the duties that Egypt required of her feudatories, the awe in which they held her power, the dangers which threatened them through her inaction, and all the intrigue and duplicity arising from so ambiguous a situation. Some of the writers have Semitic names; that is, they are native Canaanites or Amorites. Others have non-Semitic names: interpreted by some scholars as Hittite or Mitannian.[1] They profess themselves slaves of Egypt, and address the Pharaoh with fulsome flattery. They prostrate themselves before him—'seven and seven times.' He is their lord, their king, their gods and their sun.[2] They are his slaves, and the grooms of his horse.[3] They hold their hereditary domains by his gift.[4] They send tribute,[5] and are obliged to certain services, such as provisioning the royal troops who march through the land,[6] and maintaining royal garrisons.[7] They guard the posts entrusted to them by the king, and the king's chariots; but also the gods of the king.[8] In return they expect to be protected by Egypt, and to receive supplies.[9] One of the chiefs, Iabitiri of Gaza, says that in his youth he was taken to Egypt.[10] In short, the position of these feudatories of Pharaoh is analogous to that now occupied by the semi-independent rajahs of India under the British Government. And just as the latter places, at the courts of the rajahs, political agents with great powers, so Egypt had at that

[1] Sayce, *Contemporary Review*, lxxxviii. 267, 269 ff.
[2] A frequent formula. [3] B. 118-22: W. 210-13. [4] Frequent.
[5] *e.g.* L. 67: W. 198. [6] L. 52, 54: W. 207, 209; B. 114: W. 194.
[7] B. 113, 121: W. 193, 212: L. 52, 53: W. 207, 208.
[8] B. 122: W. 213. [9] Frequent. [10] L. 57: W. 214.

date in Palestine her own officials, who went from place to place as advisers and superintendents of the feudatories.[1]

Dushratta, king of Mitanni, had written to Amenhotep III. (Nimmuria) of the pressure of the Hittites on his kingdom.[2] Correspondents of the Egyptian court in Northern Syria give warnings of the same danger. But these and the chiefs in Palestine intimate other foes. 'The power of the Khabiri[3] is great in the land,' advancing from the north; and with the Khabiri are sometimes named the Suti.[4] These enemies are not without allies among the Canaanite chiefs. A certain Lapaya of Megiddo and his sons are chiefly accused by such Egyptian vassals as remain or pretend to remain loyal.[5] Biridiya of Makida writes that since the royal troops were withdrawn the sons of Lapaya have so closely watched his town, that his people cannot get vegetables or go outside the gates.[6] But indeed no man is sure of his neighbour. The letters of the vassals are full of accusations of each other, and

The Khabiri.

[1] Pakhamnata, Shûta, Pakhura and Iankhamu are named. A title for these officials is *rabiṣ*.

[2] L. 9: W. 16.

[3] B. 68: W. 113; L. 49: W. 204, etc. etc. An unknown people, identified by some (as is well known) with the Hebrews; cf. Niebuhr, *Die Amarna-Zeit*, 23 f. They were Semitic immigrants into the land, and belonged to the same movement as, or more probably to an earlier movement than, that which brought Israel there: 'Tribes,' says Winckler (*Keilinschr. u. das A. T.*[3] 198), 'represented as in the process of immigration and invasion of civilised territory, the same *rôle* taken up later by the Israelites.' Sayce takes them to have been marauding Hittite bands, whose name, phonetically but not historically identifiable with that of the Hebrews, is found elsewhere in Assyrian texts in the sense of 'confederates.' *Contemporary Review*, lxxxviii. 272.

[4] L. 51, 74: W. 206, 216.

[5] B. 111, 115: W. 192, 195; L. 72: W. 196, etc. Sayce reads the name Lapaya as Labbawa.

[6] B. 115: W. 195.

of excuses for the writers. Iapahi of Gezer says that his younger brother has revolted from him to the Khabiri,[1] and Tagi writes that he would have sent his brother to the king, but he is full of wounds.[2] Some, perhaps all, must be telling lies.

Among the chiefs of Southern Palestine who thus accuse each other is Abd-Khiba, the writer of the seven or eight Jerusalem letters. In Letter 1.[3] he defends himself against some one who has been accusing him as a rebel (lines 5-8).[4] Yet it was neither his father nor mother who set him in this place, but the strong arm of the king[5] which introduced him to the territory of his father [bît (amilu) abi-ia] (9-13). Why then should he rebel against the king? (14 f.) By the life of the king he is slandered; because he had said to the king's official [rabis sharri], 'Why do you favour the Khabiri and injure the tributary princes [khazianutu]?'[6] and 'The king's territory is being ruined' (16-24). The king knows that he had placed a garrison[7] in Jerusalem, but Iankhamu (the king's deputy or general) has removed it (25-33). Let the king take thought and trouble for his land, else his whole territory will disappear, the king's towns under Ili-milku having already revolted (34-38). Abd-Khiba would come to court, but he dare not unless the king send a garrison (39-47). He will continue his warnings, for without royal troops the king's territories will be wasted by the Khabiri (48-60). The letter con-

Abd-Khiba of Jerusalem—Letter 1.

[1] L. 50: W. 205.
[2] L. 70: W. 189.
[3] B. 102: W. 179.
[4] The accuser appears to have been a neighbouring chief Shuwardata.
[5] See below, p. 22 *n.* 5.
[6] Lehnsfürsten: Winckler; heads of the tribes of the country: Budge.
[7] Besatzung: Winckler; outpost: Budge.

cludes with a message to the king's secretary to impress the contents on him.

Letter II.[1] describes the dangers to the king's territories as increased—all the states have conspired against Abd-Khiba; Gezer, Ashḳelon and Lakish have given the enemy provisions (4-24)—and repeats the assurance that Abd-Khiba holds Jerusalem solely by the king's gift (25-28). Melk-ili and others have yielded his land to the Khabiri (29-31). Abd-Khiba is innocent in the affair of the Kashi, who are themselves to blame by their violence (32-44). They appear to have been the Egyptian garrison in Jerusalem, and were perhaps Kushites or Ethiopians.[2] Paura the Egyptian official came to Jerusalem when Adaya, along with the garrison, revolted, and said to Abd-Khiba, 'Adaya has revolted: hold the town.' So the king must send a garrison (45-53). The king's caravan has been robbed in the territory[3] of Ayyalôn. Abd-Khiba could not send the king's caravans on to the king (54-59). The king has set his name on Jerusalem for ever, he cannot surrender its territory (60-63). The postscript to the secretary of the king says that the Kashi remain in Abd-Khiba's territory. Letter II.

In Letter III.[4] Abd-Khiba, after again repudiating the slander against him (7-8), describes himself as no prince [*khazianu*] but an *u-i-u*[5] of the king, and an officer who brings tribute, holding his territory not from father or mother, but by the king's gift Letter III.

[1] B. 103: W. 180.

[2] Winckler, *Thontafeln*, etc., p. xxx. *n.* 1. Sayce takes them as Kasians from the Hittite Kas in Asia Minor (*Contemporary Review*, lxxxviii. 269).

[3] Sḫati-i; W. compares Heb. שָׂרָה.

[4] B. 104: W. 181. [5] Niebuhr, 'stabsofficier'; cf. *As. u. Eur.* 276.

(9-15). He has sent the king slaves, male and female (16-22). Let the king care for his land, it is all hostile as far as Ginti-Karmil (23-39). Some chiefs, presumably loyal, have been slain (40-45). If the king cannot send troops, let him fetch away Abd-Khiba and his clansmen that they may die before the king (47-60).

Letter IV.[1] is broken: its fragments report chiefs as fallen away from the king, and beg for troops. Letter V.[2] repeats the loss of the king's land to the Khabiri, with (among other places) Bit-Ninib, in the territory of Jerusalem (5-17), and asks for troops (18-28). Letter VI.[3] repeats the assurances of Abd-Khiba's submission, and complains that the king has not sent to him. Letter VII.,[4] two-thirds of which are wanting, after telling the same tale of disasters to the Egyptian power, and the wish of Abd-Khiba to repair them (1-16), adds that the garrison which the king sent by Khaya has been taken by Adda Mikhir into his territory of Gaza. Letter VIII.,[5] which, like Letter VII., does not in its present state yield the name of the writer, and by many is not attributed to Abd-Khiba, deals with the two rebels already mentioned in Letter VII., Melk-ili and his father-in-law Tagi.[6] All of these tablets have more or less of the usual introduction, in which the writer does homage to the king.

Letters IV.-VIII.

The composition of the name Abd- or Ebed- Khiba[7] is

[1] B. 105: W. 182.
[2] B. 106: W. 183.
[3] B. 174: W. 184.
[4] B. 199: W. 185; Sayce, *Contemporary Review*, lxxxviii. 272 f.
[5] B. 149: W. 186.
[6] The territories of these chiefs seem to have lain on what was afterwards Southern Judah or on the Philistine Plain near Gath.
[7] Hommel (*Grundriss der Geogr. u. Gesch. des Alten Orients*, 55) reads Arad-Chiba.

Semitic: *slave* or *worshipper of Khiba.* The same formation with the names of many deities is, it need hardly be stated, common in Phœnician and Arabic as well as Hebrew. In the Old Testament we have 'Obed-Edom, 'Obadiyah, 'Abdeēl, 'Ebed-Melek, and others. But if Khiba be a divine name, is it Semitic or otherwise? Professor Sayce says that it is that of a Mitannian (or Hittite) deity.[1] The Tell el-Amarna letters give the names compounded with *khipa* of two Mitannian princesses.[2] We know so little of the Mitannians and Hittites that no certain inference can be drawn from these data, and there is the possible alternative of a Semitic origin for the name Khiba. The suggestion that it disguises an original Iahu, a form of Iahweh, which would make Abd-Khiba equivalent to Obadiyah is purely imaginative.[3] But the Semitic root *ḥabah* (Hebrew) or *khabah* (Assyrian[4] and Arabic), *to hide* or *hide oneself*, is not unsuitable for a divine title, and it is possible to see this root in the name El-Iaḥba, one of David's heroes, from the Canaanite town of Sha'albim.[5]

The Name Abd-Khiba.

These alternative derivations for the name Abd-Khiba

[1] *Contemporary Review*, lxxxviii. 269.

[2] Gilukhipa, wife of Amenḥotep III.; L. 9: W. 16, lines 5 and 41; cf. W. M. Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 286, 288. Tâtum or Tadu-khipa, apparently wife both of Amenḥotep III. (L. 10: W. 20) and A. IV. (B. 24: W. 21). W. M. Müller adds Pu-u-khipa from Bouriant's copy of the Hittite-Egyptian treaty, and Khipa from an amulet (K. 3787) in the British Museum.

[3] The radical *ḥ* is not the same in the two cases, and although suggested it has not been proved that a possible link between the two forms, Iba, which appears in certain compound names, is a corruption of Iahu. See Johns (after Jensen), *Assyr. Deeds and Documents*, iii. p. xvi., and Zimmern, *K.A.T.*(3) 467.

[4] Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, 265 f.

[5] 2 Sam. xxiii. 32; Josh. xix. 42; Judg. i. 35. The proper name Khabi also occurs in the Tell el-Amarna letters, L. 28: W. 150, line 37; and Winckler gives a place-name I-khibi from a letter (B. 27) not reproduced by him.

open up the question of the racial character of the early masters of Jerusalem. Were they Semitic or Hittite? And if the latter, were they a Hittite aristocracy ruling a Semitic population, or did they and their subjects together form part of a Hittite migration which had settled in several centres in Southern Palestine? The existence of a Hittite state or states in Northern Syria, and as far south as the Lebanon, is indubitable between 1500 and 700 B.C.; it is recorded by Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions,[1] and by the earlier historical books of the Old Testament.[2] But the Priestly Document also describes a people of the same or a similar name as living in Southern Palestine along with the Jebusite and Amorite, and possessing land about Hebron, for which Abraham treated with them;[3] two Hittites are mentioned among David's warriors,[4] and Ezekiel emphasises the congenital wickedness of Jerusalem by the words *thy father was an Amorite, thy mother a Hittite.*[5] We have seen that Abd-Khiba's name is asserted to contain that of a Mitannian deity; and that both the Kasian troops of which he speaks and the Khabiri are held by some to be Hittite.[6] And finally, it has been pointed out that several of the prisoners taken by Rameses II. (1275-

Were these early Masters of Jerusalem Hittite?

[1] The earliest notice is Egyptian, under Thutmosis III., *c.* 1500, and the Kheta or Kh'ta, as the Egyptians call them, reappear under Sethos I., Rameses II., and Rameses III. (*c.* 1200). On Assyrian inscriptions they appear as the Khatti from 1100 to 700.

[2] Judg. i. 26; 2 Sam. xxiv. 26 (read with Lucian אל ארץ החתים קדשה), and even 1 Kings x. 28 f. (see vol. i. 324); cf. Josh. xi. 3, Judg. iii. 3, in both of which read Hittite for Hivite.

[3] בני חת or חתי, Gen. xxiii. 3, 10 &c. cf. xxv. 10, xlix. 29, l. 13, xxvi. 34 (Esau takes wives of the H.), xxvii. 46 (daughters of H.); cf. xxxvi. 2.

[4] 1 Sam. xxvi. 6; 2 Sam. xi. 3.

[5] Ezek. xvi. 3 (LXX.).

[6] Above, pp. 13, 15.

1208 B.C.) from Ashkelon, and represented on a bas-relief at Karnak, have the features which Egyptian artists consistently give to the Hittites. On all these grounds the theory of early Hittite conquests in Southern Palestine has been maintained by several scholars,[1] and in particular Professor Sayce has inferred that the Jebusites, whom Israel found in possession of Jerusalem, were 'descendants of the Hittite Arzawaya.'[2] If this be proved, we have to read Ezekiel's statement that the mother of Jerusalem was Hittite as exactly historical, and to illustrate it by the observations of Dr. von Luschan that the features of modern Jews and Syrians indicate an ancient mixture of their Semitic blood with that of the primitive Hittite inhabitants of Asia Minor.

There is, however, much to be said on the other side. Ezekiel's statement and the application of the term Heth or Hittite to tribes in Southern Palestine by the Priestly Writer were made at a time when the names Amorite, Canaanite and Hittite appear to have been employed in Hebrew not for particular peoples, but each of them as a general designation for all the tribes whom Israel found in the land; and it is probable besides that Ezekiel meant by the use of two of them merely to emphasise the incurable heathenishness of the people of Jerusalem. Moreover, the *Hittites* of Hebron and David's two Hittite warriors have Semitic names; the Deuteronomic phrase, *all the land of the Hittites*,[3] means simply the whole of Syria, which the Assyrians also meant by 'the land of the Khatti'; the Hebronites, whom

Or Semitic?

[1] See especially Hommel, *Grundriss der Geogr. u. Gesch. des Alten Orients*, 55.

[2] *Contemporary Review*, lxxxviii. 274.

[3] Josh. i. 4.

the Priestly Writer calls *Hittite*, are called *Amorites* by the Elohist,[1] and Esau's *Hittite* wives are in another Priestly passage called *daughters of Canaan*.[2]

As for the Jebusites, everything we know about them, except, perhaps, the name 'Araunah, points to their Semitic character. By the Jahwist and Elohist writers who lived when Jebusites were still found in Jerusalem,[3] they are associated with other Semitic tribes.[4] Their chief Adoni-ṣedeḳ [5] and their citadel Ṣion [6] have also Semitic names, and at least the formation of the name Abd-Khiba is Semitic. Adoni-ṣedeḳ, too, is called by the Elohist a *king of the Amorites*.[7]

The Jebusites.

We may, therefore, come to the following conclusion. While it is possible that in the second millennium before Christ there were Hittite conquests and settlements in Southern Palestine, and that in Jerusalem and elsewhere a Hittite aristocracy dominated the Semitic population;[8] yet, since we know so little about the Hittites, and since the earlier Hebrew documents give so many indications that the Jebusites were Semitic, while only the later Hebrew documents speak of Ḥeth or Hittite in Southern Palestine (and do so at a time when

More probably Semitic.

[1] Josh. x. 5. [2] Gen. xxxvi. 2. [3] Josh. xv. 63 (J).

[4] JE: Gen. x. 16 (J, perhaps an addition); Num. xiii. 29 (E); Josh. x. 5 (E); xv. 63 (J); Judg. i. 21; xix. 11 (J). Ex. iii. 8, 17; xxiii. 23; xxxiii. 2; xxxiv. 11 are generally assigned to JE, but may be from the Deuteronomist. To the latter belong Ex. xiii. 5; Deut. vii. 1; xx. 17; Josh. iii. 10; ix. 1; xi. 3; xii. 8; xxiv. 11 *b*; Judg. iii. 5 (?); 1 Kings ix. 20 (=2 Chron. viii. 7); and to the Priestly Writer Josh. xv. 8; xviii. 16, 28. In 2 Sam. see v. 6; xxiv. 16, 18; and compare Zech. ix. 7. The notices in Chronicles, Ezra, and Neh. are taken from the earlier documents.

[5] Josh. x. 1 (E). See below, p. 25.

[6] See vol. i. 144 ff. [7] Josh. x. 5.

[8] 'This is the utmost concession to be made to modern theories,' Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 11 f.

it is probable that *Hittite* in Hebrew had no particular ethnical meaning), it is more reasonable to believe that the pre-Israelite masters of Jerusalem were, like Israel themselves, Semitic.[1]

Religious Questions.

Before describing the political position of Abd-Khiba, we may pursue the religious question started by his name. That the states of Palestine at this time had native deities is a fact certain in itself, and confirmed by the theophorous names which several of the princes bear. Their silence about these gods is explained by the fact that the king, to whom their letters are addressed, not only belonged to a different race, but conceived himself to be an incarnation of the deity. Hence the fulsomeness of the terms in which they write to him: 'their sun, their gods.' The only gods whom the Syrian chiefs mention are the gods of Egypt. One chief calls himself the guardian of these gods.[2] This phrase is explained by a stele of Sety I. (about 1350 B.C.), which I discovered at Tell esh-Shihâb, in Ḥauran, in 1901, and which is here reproduced.[3] Of this Professor W. Max Müller writes that 'it has no *graffito* character, but is a carefully and expensively executed monument . . . of the purest Egyptian workmanship, and not an imitation by an Asiatic sculptor.' On the right the king is offering

[1] The reader may be further referred to Driver's art. 'Jebus' in Hastings' *D.B.*, and *Genesis*, 228 ff.; G. B. Gray, *Numbers*, 147 ff.; *Expositor*, May 1898, 340 ff.; *Enc. Bibl.*, 'Jerusalem,' § 13, by the present writer; and Hittites by M. Jastrow, junior, who thinks that P.'s Ḥethites or Hittites of Hebron had beyond the name nothing in common with the Hittites of Northern Syria and Asia Minor.

[2] B. 122: W. 213.

[3] See Plate XI. *P.E.F.Q.*, 1901, 344 ff: 'Tell esh-Shihab, and the discovery of a Second Egyptian Monument in Ḥauran,' by G. A. Smith, with a reading of the monument by Mr. (now Sir) Herbert Thompson; 1904, 78 ff: 'The Egyptian Monument of Tell esh-Shihab,' by W. Max Müller, Philadelphia.

two libation vessels. In the rectangle above his hands are the two royal cartouches with his names Ra-men-maat, 'Son of the Sun,' and Ptaḥ-meri-en-Sety, 'Sety beloved of Ptah.' Above the names are the titles 'Lord of the two lands' and 'Lord of Glories'(?); below are the words 'Giving life like Ra.' On the left the god, to whom the libations are offered, is Amōn, whose name with some titles is inscribed before him. Behind stands the goddess Mut with her name. Similar representations of their gods were doubtless set up by Egyptian conquerors in other towns of Palestine. As Sety's stele is of basalt, the rock of the district in which it was erected, those in Southern Palestine may have been in limestone—the reason of our failure to discover any of them. Abd-Khiba founds one of his appeals to Amenḥotep IV. not to desert Jerusalem on the fact that 'the king has set his Name on Jerusalem for ever.'[1] With some probability Dr. Winckler argues that he means that Amenḥotep IV. had instituted in the City the worship of Aten, of whom he conceived himself to be the incarnation.[2] If this be correct, a monument was erected in Jerusalem analogous to that of Sety I. at Tell esh-Shihâb. It is worth a passing notice that the form of Egyptian religion, which most nearly approached Monotheism,[3] should have been imposed, for however brief a period, upon Jerusalem. How was the worship performed? Were its high hymns[4] chanted by the Egyptian officials and soldiery? Its Asiatic origin,[5] we are tempted to infer, may have helped

[1] B. 103: W. 180, line 60 f.

[2] *K.A.T.*(3) 194 f.

[3] Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, 92 ff.

[4] See Budge, *History of Egypt*, iv. 125; Sayce, *op. cit.* 95 f.; W. M. Müller, *Enc. Bibl.* 'Egypt,' § 56: 'The hymns now composed in praise of the Sun-god are the best productions of Egyptian religious literature.'

[5] Sayce, *op. cit.* 92.

its acceptance by the Canaanites. Yet how were they to understand its language? Would they comprehend more than what their letters express—that it was the adoration of the Egyptian monarch himself? We can hardly think so; but, however this may have been, no trace of the worship of Aten survived. Overthrown in Egypt, it cannot have persisted in Syria. Amōn and Mut were the gods whom, half a century afterwards, Sety I. set up at Tell esh-Shihâb.

There are traces of the worship of another foreign deity at Jerusalem at this time. Either in the town or its territory stood Bit-Ninib, that is the sanctuary of the Babylonian deity Ninib. So much for the religion. Bit-Ninib.

Abd-Khiba held Jerusalem by appointment of the King of Egypt. Dr. Winckler says that the tablets distinguish between *Amelu*, princes ruling in their own right, and *Khazianûti*, not the old hereditary princes, but others selected for the headship by Pharaoh out of the princes or families of the towns or tribes;[1] and that Abd-Khiba was such a *Khazianu*. Yet the latter describes his lands, although he had not received them from father or mother, but from Pharaoh, as his ancestral domains. The phrase expressing this is so often repeated that it seems to have been a formula of submission. To Jerusalem there was attached a certain 'territory.' The town itself appears to have been fortified. At least it contained an Egyptian garrison, and even without that it might hold out against the king's enemies.[2] Taking this bit of evidence along with others, viz. that Abd-Khiba appears to have been held responsible for the Abd-Khiba's Powers.

[1] *K.A.T.*(3) 193 f. [2] Letter II. 45-53.

disaster to a caravan in Ayyalôn,[1] and that he maintained his post against a universal hostility, we may infer that Jerusalem was already a place of considerable strength. Its chief could send caravans of his own to Egypt; but it is to be noted that no products of the soil are described among his tribute, only a number of slaves, perhaps captives of war. Definite data are wanting as to the size of Abd-Khiba's territory and the number of the troops needed to defend it.[2] Neither Abd-Khiba's anxiety for the whole territories of the king,[3] nor the opposition to him of all the other chiefs,[4] can be taken as evidence that his responsibility to the king was greater than theirs; and there is nothing else in his letters to prove that 'Jerusalem was already the dominant state of Southern Palestine.'[5]

The Site of Abd-Khiba's Town.

The question of the site of the primitive Jerusalem has already been sufficiently discussed. We have seen that the citadel most probably lay on the East Hill, above the one certain spring of the district, the Old Testament Gihon, the modern 'Ain Sitti Mariam, and that this part of the East Hill, between the southern limit of the Ḥaram area and Siloam, was a sufficient site for the City down to the time of David. The area is nearly as large as

[1] Letter II. 54-59; above, p. 13.

[2] Winckler's translation of B. 103 and 105 does not support W. M. Müller's (*As. u. Eur.* 276) inference that only a very small garrison was required to defend the territory of Jerusalem.

[3] W. 179, 180.

[4] W. 180, line 12.

[5] Sayce, *Early History of the Hebrews*, 28 f. This hypothesis was combined with the other that Abd-Khiba was not under Egyptian rule, but was the friend of the Pharaoh and derived his power from the god directly—Professor Sayce taking the phrase 'mighty king' to mean the god. But this is denied by other Assyriologists. Certainly the terms in which Abd-Khiba submits to the latter are as humble as those of any other chief.

that of the ancient Gezer, with which, as Gezer also continued to remain a Canaanite *enclave* in Israelite territory, we may most suitably compare Jerusalem.[1] Among the ancient remains discovered on the area some may be, none indubitably are, pre-Israelite.[2] No cuneiform tablets similar to those sent by Abd-Khiba to Egypt or those found in Lakish or Taanach have come to light in Jerusalem. It is possible that more extended excavations may unearth them; but the chance of this will be felt to be slender when we remember how often the East Hill has been besieged and its buildings destroyed, and how constant have been the rebuilding and the quarrying upon it.[3]

[1] See vol. i. 142 ff.
[2] See vol. i. 140 f.
[3] See vol. i. 210, 227 f.

CHAPTER II

THE CONQUEST BY DAVID

c. 1000 B.C.

Summary of previous Chapter.

WE have seen that about 1400 B.C. Jerusalem under that name was a fortress and town with an uncertain extent of territory. The inhabitants were Semitic, under a hereditary chief Abd-Khiba, who, however, ascribed his position neither to his fathers nor his people but to the lord-paramount of the land, the King of Egypt. The fortress was sometimes occupied by an Egyptian garrison; and the Pharaoh, Amenhotep IV., had placed his name' upon it. That is, he had imposed on Jerusalem the worship of himself as the incarnation of Aten, the Sun's Disk, in favour of whom he had sought to disestablish the other gods of Egypt. There must have been a local deity of Jerusalem, but Abd-Khiba prudently refrains from alluding to this in letters addressed to a sovereign who entitled himself Khu-en-Aten, 'Glory of Aten,' and who regarded Aten as the sole god. The worship of the local deity, however, can hardly have been interrupted by that of the Pharaoh, and probably continued at least till David brought to the town the Ark of Jahweh.

Who was this predecessor of the God of Israel on the high place of Jerusalem? We are left to conjectures from the theophorous names of her chiefs and perhaps of herself. Besides Abd-Khiba,[1] one other chief bore such a name, Adoni-Ṣedeḳ, who was reigning when Israel entered the land.[2] Ṣedeḳ was a deity of the Western Semites,[3] and appears in several men's names both Aramean and Phœnician.[4] It is worthy of notice that a priest of Jerusalem in David's time was called Ṣadoḳ, and natural also to compare Melki-Sedeḳ, king of Salem, in the story of Abraham.[5] Again, if the latter part of the name Jerusalem be that of Shalem or Shulman, another deity of the Western Semites,[6] this may have been the local god

The earlier gods of Jerusalem.

[1] See above, p. 15.

[2] Joshua x. 1 ff. This passage is from JE, and substantially from E. The parallel in Judges i., from J, names the king Adoni-Bezeḳ, and the LXX. have this form in both passages. On which ground some prefer the reading Adoni Bezeḳ. This is, however, improbable, since in personal names Adon is always compounded with the name of a deity, and no deity Bezeḳ is known, while Ṣedeḳ occurs several times as the name of a Western Semitic god. Besides, the reading Bezeḳ may easily have arisen in Jud. i. 5, through confusion with the name of the place where Israel encountered the king. Moore, Bennett and Nowack read Adoni-Ṣedeḳ. Budde, who previously preferred Adoni-Bezeḳ, leaves the question open in his recent commentary on Judges.

[3] See Zimmern, *K. A. T.*(3) 473 f.

[4] Kemosh-Ṣedeḳ, Ṣedeḳ-Rimmon, Ṣedeḳ-Melek. Also as a Canaanite name in the Tell el-Amarna letters, No. 125 (W.), line 37: Ben Ṣidḳi (spelt by the Canaanite scribe Zidḳi), for which Knudtzon (*Beitr. z. Assyr.* iv. 114) reads Rab-Sidḳi.

[5] Gen. xiv. 18. Winckler, *K. A. T.*(3) p. 224, takes Salem in this passage, not as an abbreviation for Jerusalem, but as a form of the divine name Shalem, and Melek-Salem as only another form of Melki-Ṣedeḳ, whom he assigns to the city of Hazazon Tamar = Banias (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. p. 37). All this is very precarious: yet Winckler founds upon it the identity of the god Ṣedeḳ with the god Sulman or Shalem.

[6] Zimmern, *K. A. T.*(3) 474 f., where the Assyrian Shulman is regarded as probably a title of the god Ninib, of whom, as we have seen, a sanctuary

of whom we are in search. Other less probable names have been proposed.[1] But whoever he was, it is remarkable that no direct mention of the Amorite god of Jerusalem has survived, although his worshippers were spared when Israel took the City and continued to live there. Either the later scribes took care to eliminate from the Hebrew records every trace of this predecessor of Jahweh; or his influence was so restricted and unimportant that his name and his memory disappeared of themselves. It is significant that except for the ambiguous reference to Shalem in Genesis xiv., early Jerusalem is not regarded in the Old Testament as having been a famous shrine, such as Beersheba', the various Gilgals, Gibeon and Bethel continued to be down to the eighth century. On a site so crowded and so disturbed during all the following centuries it is hopeless to search for remains of the Amorite sanctuary in Jerusalem. It may have been about Gihon, for this spring, as we have seen,[2] was regarded as sacred; or it may have stood in the valley of Hinnom, where the sacrifices of children, a feature of Canaanite worship, afterwards broke out among the Israelites.[3]

The Jebusite Jerusalem.

But if unimportant religiously—at least as compared with Bethel, the Gilgals and Beersheba'—Jerusalem must have been in those early days a fortress of no ordinary strength. We have seen[4] that

existed at or near Jerusalem. Winckler, *id.* p. 224, sees in Shelomoh, the Hebrew for Solomon, a form derived from the divine name Shalem.

[1] Winckler, *K.A.T.*(3) 225, 230, supposes that in the names of *David* and the *City of David* there lurks a *Dōd*, either a divine name or an appellation for the *genius loci*. But this would imply that David received his name only after the capture of Jerusalem, or else that there was a remarkable coincidence between his name and that of the city he took.

[2] Vol. i. 108.

[3] See below, p. 40, on Millo.

[4] Vol. i. Bk. i. ch. vi.

her citadel lay upon the East Hill, just above Gihon, where on all sides save one the ground falls from the ridge to a considerable depth. Apart from what may be an editorial gloss, the Old Testament traditions are unanimous that before David the Israelites failed to capture the citadel;[1] the garrison felt themselves so secure that they laughed at the challenge of David.[2] In fact, through the earliest centuries of Israel's history Jerusalem was the most easterly of a line of positions—Gezer, Beth-Shemesh, Sha'albim, Ayyalôn, Ḳiriath-ye'arim (Kephira, Gibe'on, Be'erōth), Jerusalem—from which Israel did not succeed in ousting their occupants, but which, during the period of the Judges, formed a barrier between the children of Judah to the south, and the rest of Israel.[3] The Elohist document calls those tribes who thus maintained their position against Israel *Amorites*; the Jahwist document, *Canaanites*: both of them general terms for the Semitic populations which preceded Israel in Palestine. More

[1] The gloss above mentioned is Judges i. 8: *and the men of Judah fought against Jerusalem and took it, and smote it at the edge of the sword and set fire to it.* But this seems contradicted by Jud. i. 21: *and the Jebusites who dwelt in Jerusalem the children of Benjamin did not drive out, but the Jebusites have dwelt with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem to this day*; and by Josh. xv. 63: *and the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah did not drive them out, but the Jebusites have dwelt* (*with the children of Judah*: omit LXX.) *in Jerusalem till this day.* The substitution in Jud. i. 21 of *Benjamin* for *Judah* of Josh. xv. 63 is usually supposed to be due to an editor who thereby strove to remove the contradiction with Jud. i. 8. It is possible to effect a technical conciliation between Jud. i. 8 on the one hand and Jud. i. 21 and Josh. xv. 63 on the other (cf. *e.g.* Sayce, *Early Hist. of the Hebrews*, p. 246 f.; Ottley, *Hist. of the Heb.* 87 f.). But even those who propose this either interpret Jud. i. 8 only of the town, and agree that the Hebrew invaders did not capture the citadel of Jerusalem; or suppose that the Hebrew occupation was only temporary.

[2] 2 Sam. v. 6. See below, pp. 31 f.

[3] In the Song of Deborah Judah is not mentioned.

particularly the Jahwistic document defines the inhabitants of Jerusalem and some neighbouring states as Jebusites, a name not found outside the Old Testament, but sufficiently accredited within that.[1] This compact little tribe is of interest, not only because of the stand which it made for centuries against the Israelite invaders, but because, upon David's capture of its stronghold, it became a constituent of that strange medley, the Jewish people, and doubtless carried into their life the tough fibre of its tribal character and some of the temper of its immemorial religion. There is small doubt that the tribe was Semitic, and that it subsisted by agriculture —the Jebusite is called *the inhabitant of the land*[2]—and by the simpler industries of the long-settled Canaanite civilisation. Beyond these indications there is little to enable us to define the relation of the Israelites to the Canaanite *enclaves* which endured for centuries in their midst. In the story of Judges xix. the Levite refuses, though night is near, *to turn aside into this city of the Jebusites and lodge in it*, for it is *the city of a stranger, where are none of the children of Israel*.[3] Israelite and Jebusite, therefore, kept apart, but they talked what was practically the same dialect; there must have been traffic between them, the less settled Israelites purchasing the necessities and some of the embellishments of life from the townsfolk, as the Bedouin do at the present day; and, in addition, there may have been occasional intermarriage. So affairs lasted till the time of David.

[1] The name Jebusite has been handed down all along the main lines of the tradition. See above, p. 18 *n.* 4. On Jebus, see vol. i. 266 f.

[2] 2 Sam. v. 6. Therefore, as formerly under Abd-Khiba, so now Jerusalem must have commanded some extent of the surrounding territory.

[3] Verses 11 and 12.

The story of David's capture of Jerusalem, about 1000 B.C., raises a number of chronological and other questions which lie outside our present aims. These are rather to discover David's reasons for the choice of Jerusalem as his capital, and the effect of this choice on the subsequent history of Israel. We may, however, give a brief statement of the former. Capture by David.

The account of the capture comes to us as part of the Second Book of Samuel, chapters v.-viii., which present a summary of David's reign written from a religious point of view.[1] The order, in which the events now of interest to us are arranged, is as follows. After Ishba'al's death Northern Israel submits itself to David, who is king in Hebron. He then takes Jerusalem, and has to sustain a double attack of the Philistines, whom he defeats. He brings the ark to Ṣion, and proceeds with the rebuilding of the city. If this is meant by the editor to be the chronological order, it implies that the Philistines were moved to attack their former vassal by the extension of his power over the northern tribes, which also had been subject to them,[2] and by his capture of a fortress, which must have threatened Israel from the rear in all their previous campaigns against Philistia. But this order seems contradicted by the details from which the summary account has been composed. One of these, v. 17, states that the Philistine attack upon David followed the submission to him of Northern Israel, and that when he heard that the Philistines were advancing he *went down to the hold.* But The Order of Events.

[1] See the Commentaries, especially Driver's *Notes to the Books of Samuel*, H. P. Smith in the *International Critical Commentary*, and Budde in the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar.*

[2] As Kamphausen was the first to point out.

a hold to which he had to *go down* cannot have been Jerusalem,[1] but was some fortress at the foot of the hill-country, perhaps 'Adullam. If he was already in possession of Jerusalem, such a procedure is hardly intelligible. We may infer therefore that David's capture of Jerusalem was subsequent to his defeat of the Philistines. Again, this victory (according to v. 17) followed the anointing of David as king of all Israel. And yet the phrase in verse 6, *the king and his men went to Jerusalem against the Jebusites*, seems to imply that David attacked that fortress before he had all Israel behind him, and when he was only a southern chief with a band of followers.[2] Accordingly other arrangements of the chronological order than that followed by the editor of chapters v.-viii. have been offered by modern scholars. Professors Kittel and Budde suppose that when David became king of all Israel the Philistines opened war upon him, and that only after defeating them he took Jerusalem and brought in the ark.[3] Others[4] place the capture of the city first, and find in it the provocation of the Philistines to attack David, who defeats them, and is only then joined by Northern Israel. Whichever of these arrangements be the right order of the events—and perhaps it is now impossible to determine this—the capture of Jerusalem is closely connected, either as preparation or as conse-

[1] As Ottley and others maintain.

[2] For this phrase the Chronicler (1 Chron. xi. 4) has substituted *David and all Israel went to Jerusalem*, which seems to be an effort to reconcile the above difficulties.

[3] Cf. G. W. Wade, *O. T. Hist.* 246; W. F. Burnside, *O. T. Hist.* 182.

[4] R. L. Ottley, *Hist. of the Hebrews*, 138. Winckler dates the capture of Jerusalem before a forcible conquest of Benjamin, which he imputes to David, and the effects of which he traces in the subsequent life of the king (*K.A.T.*(3) 230).

quence, with the renewed hostility of the Philistines and David's assumption of the kingship of all Israel.

The narrative of the actual capture of the stronghold also raises questions. The text is uncertain, and, as it stands, hardly intelligible. It reports that when David and his men went up against the Jebusites these taunted him. By a slight change in one of the verbs their taunt most naturally runs thus: *Thou shalt not come in hither: but the blind and the lame will drive thee off*:[1] *meaning David cannot come in hither. Nevertheless David took the stronghold of Sion*—the first appearance of this name in the history. The next verse (8) is both uncertain in its text and impossible to construe as it stands. Our English translation, even in the Revised Version—'And David said on that day, Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites, let him get up to the watercourse and *smite* the lame and the blind, that are hated of David's soul'—is conjectural, as may be seen from the word introduced in italics and from the marginal alternative. Besides, we should not expect directions to take the *hold*, after the statement of its capture in verse 7. The original has *a Jebusite*, and the word translated *watercourse* means rather *waterfall*,[2] of which there was none in Jerusalem; while the consonants of the text read the active form of the verb: *they hated*. The first clause can only be rendered *Whosoever smiteth a Jebusite*, and the rest, as Dr. Budde and others have inferred, ought to be emended so as to express some threat against the slaughter of a Jebusite, in conformity with the testimony that David spared the defenders of the

Narrative of the Capture.

[1] 2 Sam. v. 6, reading with Wellhausen יְסִירֶךָּ for הֵסִירֶךָּ.

[2] So Ps. xlii. 8. But in Mishnic Hebrew the word does mean 'conduit.'

City when he took it.[1] Dr. Budde's own emendation, though not quite satisfactory, for it introduces a negative, may stand in default of a better. By omitting one letter and changing the vowel points,[2] he gets rid of the difficult *waterfall* (which, besides, is not what the Greek translators read) and substitutes *his neck*, rendering the whole thus: *Whoso slayeth a Jebusite, shall bring his neck into danger, the halt and the blind David's soul doth not hate.*[3] We thus lose a picturesque yet difficult account of how the citadel was taken, with all occasion for the topographical conjectures that have sprung from it; but we gain a sensible statement following naturally on the preceding verse and in harmony with other facts. The concluding clause of verse 8: *wherefore they say a blind man or a halt may not enter the House*, is obviously an insertion which attempts to account for the later Levitical exclusion of blemished persons from the Temple.[4] *And David dwelt in the stronghold and called it David's-Burgh.*

From these details we turn to the larger questions of David's policy in regard to Jerusalem. For clearness' sake we may distinguish between his capture of the City and his choice of it as his capital.

The Military Value of Jerusalem to David.

The capture of Jerusalem—whatever he might afterwards make of the City—was necessary for David in respect equally of his dominion over Northern Israel, and of his relations to the Philistines. The last of the alien *enclaves* on the hill-country of the Hebrews, the Jebusite fortress, stood

[1] 2 Sam. xxiv.

[2] [illegible] of [illegible] בְּנִיּוֹר וְ, he reads בְּצַוָּרוֹ אֶת־. The Greek version has [illegible] with a dagger.

[3] לֹא שֹׂאנֶה.

[4] Lev. xxi. 18.

between the two portions of David's kingdom, and hard by the trunk-road which ran through them. If, as is likely,[1] the capture happened before David's accession to the united sovereignty, it is proof of his political foresight and of the fact that he already cherished the ambition of being ruler of all Israel; while its achievement may have helped the attraction of the northern tribes to his crown. Most probably the capture did not happen before his campaign or campaigns with the Philistines,[2] his experience in which must have shown him the inexpediency of leaving an alien stronghold on his rear so often as he should have to descend to meet the Philistines on the border of the Shephelah. Besides, Jerusalem lies near the head of one of the passes leading up from the Philistine territory. David had himself encountered the Philistines on the plain of Rephaim near the Jebusite fortress, and by that alone must have felt the indispensableness of the latter. Plainly, therefore, the capture of Jerusalem was as necessary to Israel's independence of Philistia as it was to their unification.

His Choice of it as his Capital.

The same motives must have worked towards the selection of the captured City for his capital—but along with others. As king of all Israel David could not remain in Hebron. This town lay too far south and its site possesses little strength. On the other hand, to have chosen one of the fortresses of Ephraim, or even to have settled in Shechem, the natural centre of the country, would have roused the jealousy of his own southern clans. His capital had to lie between the two: most fitly between Bethlehem and Bethel. But upon this stretch of country

[1] From 2 Sam. v. 6, see p. 30.

[2] See above, pp. 29 ff.

there was no position to compare for strength with Jerusalem. Bethel, indeed, was better situated for the command of roads and the trade on them, but the site has little military value. Bethlehem, again, might have made a better fortress than Bethel, and lay in a district of greater fertility than Jerusalem. But it had not even the one spring which Jerusalem possessed; and it was wholly southern and shut off from the north. To the prime necessities of great strength and a tolerable water-supply, to the further advantages of a position on the trunk-road and not far from the head of an easily defended pass into the western plain, Jerusalem added the supreme excellence of a neutral site which had belonged neither to Judah nor to the northern tribes, and was therefore without bias in the delicate balance of interests, which it strained David to preserve throughout the rest of his reign. Nor within the basin in which Jerusalem lies could there be any question between the exact site of the Jebusite stronghold and the other fortifiable hills around. The capture of many an eastern city has meant the abandonment of its site and the rise of a new town at some little distance. But, as we have seen,[1] in that large basin the position most favourable for sustaining the population of a town is where the waters of the basin gather and partly come to the surface before issuing by their one outlet—to the south-east. Here flowed the only spring or springs. There was thus no other way for it. *David dwelt in the stronghold*,[2] in the ancient Jebusite fortress which lay on the East Hill of the present Jerusalem, and immediately above Gihon.[3]

[1] Vol. i. 79.
[2] 2 Sam. v. 6.
[3] Vol. i. 142 ff.; vol. ii. 22 f.

David, then, being, or about to be, monarch of all Israel, supplied his monarchy with its correlative, a capital; strong by natural position, and politically suitable by neutrality towards the rival interests of his kingdom, north and south. The European analogy, which one remembers, is that of Madrid. Like Jerusalem, with fewer natural advantages than other cities of its land, Madrid was nevertheless largely for the same reasons created the capital by the will of the sovereign.[1] David's conquest gave him complete power over Jerusalem. No tribe or family, except his own, had henceforth predominant rights in the City.[2] It seems indeed as if at first she was attached to neither of the neighbouring tribal territories, for later on her tribal connection was still ambiguous: some writers reckoning her to Judah, David's own tribe, and some to Benjamin.[3] There were no Israelite institutions to supplant, nor authorities to conciliate. As the citadel became David's-Burgh, so the town belonged to the king or his house. In no other town in Israel was the government so directly royal.[4] All this meant an immediate addition to the population. In the East, when a monarchy replaces the ancient tribal constitution, a royal bodyguard is always formed: mercenary and mostly foreign. David set the example in Israel, and it was followed by every king up to the time of Herod. He brought his *Gibbôrîm* or

The Capital of all Israel.

[1] Philip II. in 1561; but the fortunes of the city previous to this were not the same as those of Jerusalem had been. Madrid had always been the seat of the Spanish court.

[2] Vol. i. 377 ff.

[3] The Jahwist, Josh. xv. 63, to Judah; the Priestly Writer, Josh. xv. 7, xviii. 15 f. 28, to Benjamin; Deut. xxxiii. 12 may not refer to Jerusalem.

[4] Vol. i. 377 ff.

Bravos to Jerusalem, and built them barracks beside his residence. They were partly foreigners and partly Israelites, who in the disturbed days of Saul had become detached from their tribal or family interests.[1] Among them—witness the devotion of the sons of Zeruiah, and the passionate loyalty of Ittai the Gittite[2]—David found his most steady support against the rival jealousies of his still incohesive people. They added sensibly to the numbers of the capital, and must have introduced mixed and wild strains into her blood. Besides the Gibbôrîm there were David's numerous family, his counsellors, numbers of his fellow-tribesmen, and the other Israelites whom he attracted to his court, with all their clients and servants, and with the traders who were certain to follow them.

Mixed Character of the Population.

Historians who have recounted the advantages of Jerusalem as a capital have sometimes included among these a central position for the trade of the land.[3] But, as we have seen, this judgment is lacking in discrimination. Jerusalem does not lie, as is sometimes asserted, upon two of the trade-routes of Palestine, that running north and south along the main ridge of the land and that climbing the ridge from east to west. She lies only on the former, and it is not a main route. The other traverses the ridge not at the gates of Jerusalem but twelve miles away, near Bethel; hence a market as well as a sanctuary. Jerusalem has no natural command of traffic, as either Bethel, or Hebron, with her more open roads to the coast and her market for the nomads, enjoyed. If, then, Jerusalem did compel the trade of the land to

Organisation of Trade.

[1] Vol. i. 346 f.

[2] 2 Sam. xv. 21.

[3] So Kittel, *Gesch. Hebr.* ii. 134.

concentrate upon her bazaars, this was by virtue of her political supremacy and the commercial organisation of her kings. Such an organisation always attends the rise of a new monarchy,—we find a modern Oriental instance in Telal Ibn Rashîd's policy at Ḥa'îl in the middle of last century,[1]—and there is evidence that David began it for Israel. His alliance with Ḥiram; his introduction of foreigners, some of whom must have been traders like those tempted to Ḥa'îl by Ibn Rashîd; his stamping of shekels,[2] a sure sign of other regulations of commerce; his maintenance of a mercenary army and his numerous buildings—invariable results of commercial success—are proofs that he inaugurated the policy which Solomon developed. But from all this Jerusalem would chiefly benefit in the increase of her population and resources.

David reprieved the Jebusite inhabitants from the massacre or deportation which usually followed the capture of an Eastern city.[3] He put them out of their citadel, and probably also from its immediate environs, but he spared their lives, to the necessary extension of the City, and he left them their property. We are not told that he destroyed their sanctuary or forbade the continuance of their worship. But, whatever may have happened to these, it is clear that a considerable heathen population, with the attractions which a god in ancient possession of a definite territory has always had for the invaders of the latter, persisted in Jerusalem. If we are to understand the

The Survival of the Jebusite Population.

[1] Palgrave, *Central and E. Arabia*, 93, 112, 133. [2] 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

[3] 2 Sam. v. 8, according to the reading given above on p. 32: cf. xxiv. 18 ff.

subsequent history of her religion, we must, with Ezekiel, keep in mind this heathen strain. *Thine origin*, he tells her, when exposing her affection for debased rites, *thine origin and nativity is of the land of the Canaanites; an Amorite was thy father and thy mother was a Hittite.*[1]

The Bringing in of the Ark.

To such a capital David brought the symbol of his people's God. This was a movable chest, the sanctuary and palladium of a nomad people; which, except for intervals, had never settled anywhere; which had been carried into their battles; which had even fallen into the hands of their foes. With the prestige of victory over the latter, and as if its work of war were over, David brought it for the first time within walls. He still covered it with the nomad tent; yet, as the Psalm says,[2] he gave it a *resting-place, a resting-place for ever*. We can have little doubt that what moved David to recover an object which had so long fallen out of his people's history, and to place it in the new capital, was not merely that the Ark was the only relic of the past with which Israel's memories of their national unity were associated. David was moved by a religious inspiration. The national unity had never been maintained, or when lost had never been recovered, except by loyalty to the nation's One God and Lord. His Ark implied Himself. It was His Presence which sealed the new-formed union, and consecrated the capital.

David thus only began Jerusalem.

The nation, then, appeared to be made; and in every respect, military, political and religious, Jerusalem stood for its centre. Yet such achievements could not be the work of one day nor of one man. Least of all could this happen in the case of

[1] Ezek. xvi. 3. See above, pp. 16 f.

[2] cxxxii. 8, 14.

a town so lately adopted, and with so many natural disadvantages, among a people so recently welded together. Historians are premature who at this point celebrate all the meaning of Jerusalem in the history of Israel, as if due to David alone. The work was Divine and required the ages for its fulfilment. The most we can say of David, beyond the splendid insight with which he met the exigencies of his own day, and his religious devotion, is that in giving Israel Jerusalem he gave them the possibility of that which was yet to be. But for centuries the position of the City remained precarious. She was violated by Shishaḳ; harassed by the Northern Kingdom, so far as she was a capital, and ignored so far as she was a sanctuary. Elijah passed her by when he went to seek Jahweh at Horeb; and according to Amos[1] the Israelite devotees of Jahweh in the eighth century preferred Beersheba' to Ṣion. It required the disappearance of the Northern Kingdom; the desecration of the rural sanctuaries by the Assyrians, the proof of her own inviolableness by Isaiah, and the centralisation of worship in the Temple by the Deuteronomists of the seventh century, before Jerusalem became the heart and soul of the nation, from which all their life beat forth and with whose fall they died.

It was on the East Hill that David fixed his residence and built or commenced his buildings. We have seen that the town occupied at least as much of this Hill as lies to the south of the present Ḥaram area. It was grouped round *the stronghold Ṣion.* This lay above Giḥon upon an elevation (now

David's Buildings.

[1] viii. 14.

cleared away) which in some books of the Old Testament is called *The 'Ophel* or *The Swelling*.[1] But we shall use the name Ophel (without the article) in the conventional sense, in which it is employed by modern writers, for *all* the East Hill south of the Ḥaram area.

Immediately upon the fact of his taking up his abode in Ṣion we read, *and David built* or *fortified round about from the Millo and inward*,[2] or as the Greek version gives it, *and he fortified it, the city, round about from the Millo, and his house*.[3] Whichever of these readings we select, it is evidently the same site on which he dwelt that David fortified. A new feature appears in the Millo.

The Millo.

It has been argued[4] that the Millo was the Jebusite sanctuary, which David destroyed and rebuilt for his own God; but the evidence for this is strained, and is opposed by the data of the text.[5] The Millo, literally *The Filling*, is usually taken as a dam, rampart or solid tower. Such a meaning is confirmed by the use of the root in other North Semitic dialects.[6] The Septuagint render it by 'the Citadel.'[7] The account implies that it was not a line of fortification,

[1] For all these points see vol. i. Bk. I. ch. vi. [2] 2 Sam. v. 9.

[3] Καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτὴν πόλιν (as if עָר or עִיר) וַיִּבֶן עִיר κύκλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἄκρας καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. Cf. 1 Chron. xi. 8: *and he built the city round about from the Millo, even round about*. The Chronicler's text is awkward and appears to betray his difficulties with the data at his disposal. Note that Absalom came to Jerusalem = City of David, 2 Sam. xv. 37.

[4] Winckler, *Gesch.* ii. 198, 249 ff.; *K.A.T.*(3) 239.

[5] David built not *round the Millo* (Wi.), but *from the Millo round about*.

[6] The Assyrian verb in one form = 'heap up an earthen rampart'; mulû and tamlû = artificial terrace. The Targumic מְלִיתָא = a rampart of earth filled up between walls. Compare the LXX. τὸ ἀνάλημμα in 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

[7] Ἡ Ἄκρα: LXX. B. x. 23, etc. This, if the Greek Ἄκρα is intended, shows that the LXX. translators believed it to be on the East Hill. LXX. A. in 1 Kings ix. 15, 24, Μελω; 2 Ki. xii. 20 Μααλω, Luc. Μαλλωθ.

but occupied a definite spot; it is stated that David started his building from it. Either, then, it was an isolated rampart, covering some narrow approach from the north on the level, towards the stronghold, which was otherwise surrounded by steep rocks; or it was one of those solid towers[1] which were often planted on city walls. The Millo is variously placed by modern topographers at the north-east corner of Ophel, because of the words which follow it, *and inward*; or at the north-west corner;[2] or as a rampart across the Tyropœon to bar the approach from the north.[3] But it may have lain off the south end of Ophel, to retain and protect the old Pool. To the Chronicler the Millo was in the city of David.[4]

David's fortifications, then, were on the East Hill, and compassed Ophel[5]; they included an ancient tower or rampart somewhere on the circumference. Within this fortification, all of which perhaps bore the name of David's-Burgh, he built, with the aid of Phœnician workmen, a house for

The King's House and other Buildings.

[1] Cf. Josephus, v. *B.J.* iv. 3: square solid towers on the wall of Agrippa: τετράγωνοί τε καὶ πλήρεις. [2] Stade, *Gesch.* i. 343.

[3] G. St. Clair, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1889, 90, 96; Schick, *id.* 1893, plan, p. 191; cf. *id.* 1892, 22, where the Khatuniyeh is suggested as the Millo, separated from the Temple by a passage 15 ft. 4 in. wide, and connected by a bridge. St. Clair, *id.* 1891, 187 f., suggests S. end of Tyropœon. On Benzinger's plan, p. 217 of his *Kings* (*Kurzer Hand-Commentar* series) Millo ? is marked on the east slope of the West Hill above the Tyropœon. But this position is *excluded* by the datum of 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. I do not see how Benzinger (on 1 Kings ix. 16) concludes from 2 Sam. v. 9 and the parallel passage in 1 Chron. xi. 8 that the Millo served for the protection of the western town. On the contrary, these connect it too closely for such an assumption with David's occupation of the Eastern Hill.

[4] 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

[5] No trace of an ancient wall has yet been discovered up the west bank or slope of Ophel; some scarps occurring there cannot be certainly identified as part of a city wall. But see vol. i. 230.

himself of stone and cedar,[1] which subsequent notices imply was small,[2] and a house for the Gibbôrîm, or body-guard; and here also he pitched a tent for the Ark of the Lord, which he brought up, and in, to David's-Burgh.[3] The rest of Ophel below the stronghold, and perhaps the gorge to the west, were occupied by houses. At least there is mention of houses below David's own.[4]

East Limit of the City.

The next question is: did David's Jerusalem extend beyond Ophel? On the east the town was certainly bounded by the bed of the Ḳidron, for we read that when the King fled from Jerusalem before Absalom he tarried till his soldiers passed him at Beth-ham-merḥaḳ, *house of the distance* or *farthest house*, that is the utmost building on that side of the town, and then crossed the brook Ḳidron.[5] Jerusalem never spread beyond this natural limit to the East, though the present suburb of Silwân probably existed from very ancient times.[6]

Possible West Extension.

The opinion that David's Jerusalem extended to the West Hill is supported even by some who place Ṣion on the East.[7] For this we have no direct evidence. Only it is difficult to see how the undoubted increase of the City under David could have been accommodated upon Ophel. New ground must

[1] 2 Sam. v. 11.

[2] 1 Kings iii. 1; ix. 15. The Chronicler indeed (2 Chron. viii. 11) says that the daughter of Pharaoh could not live in the house of David because it was rendered holy by the proximity of the Ark. But as the new palace of Solomon was next the Temple this can hardly have been the reason (Stade, *Gesch.* i. 311 ff.).

[3] 2 Sam. vi. 15, 17. [4] *Id.* xi. 2, 8, 13. [5] *Id.* xv. 17, 18, 23.

[6] If, as I have suggested (vol. i. p. 111), 'En-Rogel was the name of a village as well as of a fountain, it may have occupied the site of Silwân.

[7] Sir Charles Wilson, art. 'Jerusalem' Smith's *D.B.*(2); Benzinger, *Comm. on Kings*, 1 Kings iii. 1, and Plan, p. 217; Guthe, Hauck's *R.E.* viii. 676, 678.

have been occupied by the Jebusite population evicted from the citadel and its environs, and by the settlements of native and foreign merchants. Besides these, the large garrison,[1] the great number of royal officials,[2] their families,[3] the priests and singers,[4] the different provincials whom David drew to his court,[5] and the households of the members of his large family separate from his own,[6] must have greatly expanded the size of the town. Some of those various houses seem to have been close to the king's;[7] others were at a distance, for Absalom dwelt two years in Jerusalem without seeing the king's face.[8] But all the extension doubtless consisted of suburbs. The town within the walls was still small; it appears to have had but one principal gate; the phrase *the way of the gate*[9] contrasts with the numerous gates of later centuries.

One bit of the orientation of David's Jerusalem has been preserved by the Greek version of 2 Sam. xiii., the tale of how Absalom invited the king's sons to a feast at *the shearing of his sheep in Baal-Ḥaṣôr which is beside Ephraim*, that is the modern 'Aṣûr, near eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh, fourteen miles from Jerusalem, on the great north road. At this feast Amnon was murdered in revenge for his humbling of Tamar, Absalom's sister, and the rest of the king's sons fled. The rumour preceded them that all were murdered. But, as the king and his courtiers rent their clothes, Jonadab declared that

The North Road.

[1] 2 Sam. x. 14; xii. 31; xv. 18; xx. 7.
[2] 2 Sam. viii. 15-18; xx. 23-26; xxiii. 8 ff.
[3] *Id.* xi. 3, etc.
[4] *Id.* viii. 17 f.; xix. 35.
[5] *Id.* ix.; xix. 33 ff.; 1 Kings ii. 36.
[6] 2 Sam. v. 13-15; xiii.; xiv. 24, 28; 1 Kings i. 5, 53, etc.
[7] 2 Sam. xi. 2, 10.
[8] *Id.* xiv. 24, 28: cf. Adonijah banished from the court to his own house (1 Kings i. 53).
[9] 2 Sam. xv. 2.

Amnon alone was slain, and the watchman reported the coming of much people on the Ḥoronaim road: the road from the two Beth-ḥorons, which coincides with the road from Baal-Ḥaṣôr, a few miles north of Jerusalem. *And the young man, the watchman, lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, much people coming on the road behind him, from the side of the mountain on the descent, and the watchman came and reported to the king, and said, I have seen men out of the Ḥoronaim road from the part of the mountain.*[1] Doubtless the watchman stood on some high tower on the royal residence; that he saw the Ḥoronaim road *behind him* does not mean that he looked out of the back of his head, but that this road was to the west or north-west of his station, descending as the present road does from the hills on the north, and probably passing down the central wâdy, west of the present Ḥaram area, to the royal residence at the head of Ophel. The phrase *behind him*, or *to the west of him*, is an interesting confirmation that David's house lay on the East Hill. Had it been on the West Hill, the watchman could not have had the north road to the west of him. And it further shows that Jerusalem was not as yet so extended to the north, that in this direction the view was not open.

The only other road made visible by the records is that pursued by David when he fled before Absalom.[2] It is called the *Way of the Wilderness*. There seems to have been an exit from the David's-Burgh on the north into the Ḳidron valley, for later, when Joab had taken Adonijah to feast by 'En-Rogel, the modern Job's Well, their company were not aware of the descent of another company from the king's

The Way of the Wilderness.

[1] 2 Sam. xiii. 34; LXX. [2] Chap. xv.

house to crown Solomon at Gihon till the acclamation which followed this came down the valley towards them.[1] Compare the later mention of a water-gate near Gihon, which must always have been there. Once across Kidron the Way of the Wilderness led up *the ascent of Olives*,[2] to the top where there was a sanctuary—*there he was wont to worship God*.[3] A little beyond the summit Ziba met him with provisions for the wilderness, and David proceeded to Bahurim,[4] which the Targum identifies with Almon, perhaps the present 'Almît near 'Anathoth. If this be correct, the Wilderness was that of Benjamin, and the way led not round nor over the south shoulder of the Mount of Olives, but north-east up the hill.[5] In that case Beth-ham-merhak lay not under the north end of Ophel, but some way up the Kidron, and there were probably a few houses along the valley on the west of the stream.

Standing, then, on the Mount of Olives, we may discern the following to have been the aspect of Jerusalem under David. Where the great Temple platform is now spread upon large substructions there was a rocky summit with a small plateau, the threshing-floor of 'Araunah. The southern flank of this fell steeply to the northern fortifications of David's-Burgh with (according to some) the Millo,[6] a solid bulwark or tower. A narrow gateway opened on the north, on a steep descent to Gihon, and the road from this turned northwards for a little with a few houses straggling up it till the Far-house was reached and then crossed the Kidron. Within the

Aspect of the City.

[1] 1 Kings i. 9, 41 ff. [2] 2 Sam. xv. 30.

[3] *Ibid.* 32. Probably the spot to which Ezekiel saw the God of Israel remove from the Temple (xi. 23; xliii. 1 ff.). [4] *Id.* xvi. 1-5.

[5] For alternatives for the further course of the road, see *Z.D.P.V.* iii. 8 ff., xiii. 93 ff. [6] More probably S. of Ophel; see p. 43.

walls stood the Stronghold, the small house of David, the house of the Gibbôrîm, with some other buildings, and close to the king's house the Tent of the Ark. Some further open space there must have been for the later graves of the kings. The wall compassed Ophel, with one principal gate, at probably the lower end of Ophel, from which the houses thickly climbed towards the Citadel. On the West Hill our records leave a mist. Probably its slopes into the central wâdy, opposite the north end of Ophel, were also covered with dwellings. Dr. Benzinger, indeed,[1] thinks that 'under David the southern part and eastern slopes of the West Hill were already built upon.' This may have been so. But the more natural growth outwards from the 'City of David' would rather have been from its northern end into the central wâdy and up the opposite slopes of the West Hill. In any case we have no proof, nor even probability, that the whole of the South-West Hill was built upon in David's time. Whatever its size may have been, the new town does not seem to have had a wall around it during David's reign. The first record of such a wall is given under Solomon.[2]

The Figure of the King.

But in all this scene nothing is so vivid as the King himself. I have said that it is easy to exaggerate, as some historians have done, David's share in the making of Jerusalem. Her full influence and sacredness were a Divine achievement, which required the ages for its consummation. The Prophets and the Deuteronomic legislation were perhaps the greatest factors in the development of the City; much of her glory, which the later literature throws back upon David, is only the reflection of their work. Neverthe-

[1] On 1 Kings iii. 1.

[2] 1 Kings iii. 1, etc.

less it was his choice of her which started everything; which brought history to her walls and planted within them that which made her holy. The Man, whose individual will and policy seem essential to the career of every great city, Jerusalem found in David. He made her the capital of a kingdom; he brought to her the shrine of Israel's God; he gave her a new population: and, if we remember the personal rôle which the sovereigns of antiquity filled in the development and regulation of trade, we shall see his hand in the first drawing to her—little as she was fitted by nature for so central a position—of those industrial and commercial influences which in our modern world are less dependent on the control of kings, however powerful. But besides thus standing behind the City and providing the first impetus to her career, the figure of David stands out among the early features of her life more conspicuous than any of them. Of all the actors on that stage, from David himself to Titus, there is none who moves more clearly, whether under the stress of the great passions or through the details of conduct and conversation. We see him in temptation, in penitence, in grief or dancing with that oriental ecstasy of worship which had not yet died out of the Hebrew religion; now bent beneath the scandals of his family; now rending his garments at the death of Adonijah; now weeping on the way to the wilderness when he flees from Absalom; or listening to the arguments of his subjects against himself; or besought by his soldiers to remain within the walls while they go out to war, *that the lamp of Israel be not quenched*; or tenderly nourished through the feebleness of old age. The drama of Jerusalem is never more vivid than while David is its hero.

CHAPTER III

SOLOMON AND THE TEMPLE

c. 970-933 B.C.

The Change in the Royal Spectacle.

WHEN we pass from David to Solomon, from Second Samuel to First Kings, we are conscious of a change in both the quality of the drama and the character of its hero. Instead of the palpable figure, the vivid features of a man, there rises an apparition more majestic indeed, but, just by reason of its grandeur, nebulous and vague. *Solomon in all his glory*—we see the glory, but are dazzled as to the man behind it. In part, at least, this haze may be attributed to the style of the narrators. Of the history of David, the bulk is the precious bequest of a contemporary,[1] who has not lost sight of the man in the monarch. But of Solomon's history much more is due to writers at a distance from their subject, and even where the text is taken from contemporary annals it seems to be the work of courtiers to whom the King, the Royal Personage, is everything.[2] Even so, however, the

[1] Cf. Budde, *Gesch. der althebr. Litteratur*, 43: 'Die Geschichte Davids und seines Zeitalters, von zeitgenössischer Hand verfasst oder doch von eines Zeitgenossen Mund erzählt wird immer der feste und älteste Kern israelitischer Geschichtsschreibung bleiben.'

[2] For the critical analysis of 1 Kings i.-xi., see the commentaries, I. Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige*, 1899; C. F. Burney, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Kings*, 1903; B. Stade and F. Schwally, *The Books of Kings: crit. ed. of the Heb. Text* (Haupt's *S.B.O.T.*), 1904; J. Skinner, 'Kings' (in

questions arise, whether some of the haze may not be due to the want in Solomon himself of the character and passion that give distinctness to all the movements of David; or whether the features of the great Sultan are hidden from us only by the largeness and splendour of his policy, and through lack of that atmosphere of adversity which alone reveals a man to his contemporaries and posterity.

Personal Powers of Solomon.

Solomon had not to fight his way to the throne; his succession was managed for him by others.[1] Nor do we find originality in the three swift blows by which he followed it up. These are the inevitable consequences of the movement which bore him so high, sheer flashes from the thundercloud that had been gathering in Jerusalem since his birth. Prince by the blood-stained marriage of his father, and king through his mother's intrigues, Solomon was obliged to secure this double usurpation by removing all possible stays of the legitimate succession. So when Adonijah imprudently gave him occasion by seeking for wife their father's companion, he slew Adonijah; he slew Joab, the general of his father's forces, appointing to the post Benaiah, the captain of the bodyguard; and had he dared he would have slain the chief priest Abiathar, but he banished him and gave the office to Ṣadoḳ, with whose family it remained for centuries.[2] None of these actions

The Century Bible) n.d. Winckler's theories, that the histories of David and Solomon reflect, or were written upon the scheme of, a Babylonian mythology under Canaanite influence, is unfolded in several works, but fully stated in his edition of Schrader, *K.A.T.*(3) 222 ff., 233 ff. For Cheyne's treatment of Solomon's history in accordance with his Jerahmeel theories, see *Enc. Bibl.*, art. 'Solomon,' and *Critica Biblica.*

[1] 1 Kings i.

[2] 1 Kings ii. 12 ff.

evince either character or inventiveness; they were compelled from him by the forces which had made him king. Nor had Solomon the opportunity of distinguishing himself in battle; he did not extend, but on the contrary lost some of, the conquests of his father. Nor through the rest of his reign are there any of those personal adventures which bring David out of his state and present his figure throbbing before us. Solomon's appearances are all official —on the judgment-seat, on the throne, consecrating the Temple. Even such as are religious are after a more sober style of religion. They have lost the primitive ecstasy which distinguished the worship of both of his predecessors. He sleeps, it is true, in a sanctuary in order to induce a dream; but we cannot conceive of Solomon either tearing his clothes and lying prostrate like Saul, or dancing before the Ark as David his father did. Even the wisdom which exalts his personality sublimates it at the same time. Even the one personal temper imputed to him,—*now King Solomon loved women . . . he took foreign wives*,[1] may have been only the result of policy and a love of splendour. His establishment of many strange shrines in Jerusalem was certainly due to such motives as well as to the exigencies of the foreign trade upon which he adventured.[2] In short, behind his wealth, his wisdom, his wives and his idols, it is difficult to discern the real man. Yet through that long and prosperous reign the throne must have been filled by a personality of unusual power. Of the early concentration of his mind upon the highest duties, we are assured

[1] 1 Kings xi. 1, after the LXX.

[2] See the author's 'Trade and Commerce,' *Enc. Bibl.*, §§ 21-24, 50.

by a narrative from probably an ancient source.[1] Having been asked by the Lord what gift he desired, Solomon chose neither wealth, honour nor the life of his enemies, but the mind to govern wisely; *an understanding heart to judge Thy people.* The Lord gave this, and there follows an instance of its use; of a kind to win the admiration of any Eastern people, for whom justice depends so exclusively upon the discrimination and cleverness of their prince.[2] Even if we consent to the criticism which consigns so much of the splendour of the reign to legend, this will but prove the memory of his high capacity for ruling. The tradition of so wide a kingdom, and such influence abroad, the facts of so great an activity in building, so elaborate an organisation of the state, so large an enterprise of trade—these imply that if Solomon was the fortunate heir of his father's conquests, his mind rose to the splendid heritage, and easily, as would appear, maintained its authority to the end. We read of no intrigues or revolts within the palace; and the spirit of opposition in Northern Israel was ineffective so long as Solomon lived.

Such was the new lord of Jerusalem: fateful to her in more ways than one. He found her little but a fortress, and he left her a city. For the tent which covered her wandering Ark[3] he built a temple of stone on a site which kept its holiness through his people's history and is still sacred to religion. He devoted

Their Effect on Jerusalem.

[1] 1 Kings iii. 4-28. Besides the passages usually marked as Deuteronomic, verses 6*b*, 14, there are other traces of the editorial hand; *e.g.* the language in which Solomon is made to ask his desire is Deuteronomic.

[2] The story of Solomon and the two mothers is very like some still current in the Lebanon concerning the wise judgments of the Emir Beshir at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

[3] It had left the City even in David's time.

to his capital the labours of the whole nation and the wealth of a very distant trade; embellishing her with buildings which raised her once for all above every other town in Israel, and gave her rank with at least the minor capitals of Asia. But, though all this concentration of the national resources worked towards her future fame, and enabled her to endure through the next two centuries of misfortune, it must also be estimated as one of the causes of the latter. The discontent excited among the Northern Tribes by the drain upon their men and their wealth was the strongest of the influences which led to the disruption of the kingdom and the deposition of Jerusalem from the rank of capital of all Israel to that of the chief town in the petty principality of Judah, precariously situated near the frontier of her most jealous neighbour. Nor, as we shall see, did even the erection of the Temple ensure the immediate religious fame of the City.

We may now trace the centralising policy of Solomon, the directions in which it bore in upon Jerusalem, and what necessary exceptions there were to it.

Solomon's Centralising Policy. 1. The Ministers of State.

In the first place, we notice some increase of the Court and the Household. David's ministers were a General of the troops, a Captain of the guard, two Priests, a Recorder, a Scribe or Secretary of State, a Master of the Levies, and one who is described as the King's Friend.[1] Solomon had all these, along with a second Scribe, a Steward or Officer of the Household, a Finance-minister or chief of the provincial governors; and seems to have given the King's Friend a more definite position in the official list of

[1] 2 Sam. viii. 17 ff.; xx. 23 ff.; xv. 37; xvi. 16; 1 Chron. xxvii. 33.

ministers than he occupied under David.[1] These, and a large number of lesser officers of court and household, formed the centre from which the following organisations were worked.

2. The Twelve Provinces.

In the next place, there was the division of the kingdom into twelve provinces, each of which furnished the king's court, and perhaps the wider circle of his workmen, with food for one month a year. The list of the provinces may have been drawn up late in the king's reign, and is therefore out of place where it stands in the history,[2] but we may conveniently take it now. The fragmentary state of the text forbids dogmatic inferences as to the size of the various provinces, or whether, as some assert, the impost was arranged to lie more heavily on those with a non-Israelite population. But one feature is striking. It has been pointed out that neither Jerusalem, Bethlehem nor Hebron is included; as if Solomon relieved from the duty the seats of his own family. In any case, those national contributions poured into Jerusalem, not only for the nourishment of the court, but directly or indirectly for the enrichment of the whole population. Their reception and consumption must have increased the number and business of the latter. Many provincials must thus have formed the habit of visiting the capital, and this would lead to

[1] 1 Kings iv. 2-6; LXX. nas two lists, here and at ii. 46*h* (Swete's ed.), which Benzinger suggests belong to different periods of the king's reign. The King's Friend is an old Egyptian title (Maspero, *R.P.* sec. ser. ii. 18), and is also found in the Tell el-Amarna letters, Winckler, i. 19 (?).

[2] 1 Kings iv. 7 ff. There is no reason to doubt the reliableness of the list. The late date in the king's reign assigned to it is inferred, not so much from the mention of two of the king's sons-in-law among the officers, as from the fact that the court could hardly have reached the size implied till after he had reigned some years.

the settlement of some of them within and about its walls.

3. The National Levies.

Another influence of the same kind was the employment for thirteen years at least[1] of a number of Phœnician workmen,[2] and of a mass of Israelites, stated at 30,000[3] (with 3300 overseers), who quarried stones in the mountains of Judah, and helped the Phœnicians in their building. That Solomon drew his levies of labour only from his non-Israelite subjects[4] is a statement which does not agree either with the data in Chronicles v., nor with the intimation that Jeroboam was *over the levy of the house of Joseph*,[5] and must therefore be the insertion of a later hand.[6] It is probable that some of these labourers were added to the permanent population of Jerusalem. But in any case their sight of her, and their sense of her new importance, were carried across the land, and made Jerusalem far better known. The cedars cut in Lebanon and conveyed through the Phœnician ports, the mines in Lebanon,[7] and the foundries in the Jordan Valley[8]—all for a city which a few years before was a mere Jebusite *enclave*—must of themselves have created for her a foreign reputation, and brought an influx of trade to her gates.

[1] 1 Kings vii. 1. If the building of the Temple, which is stated to have taken seven years (vi. 1, 38), was not contemporaneous with the thirteen years of the building of the palace, then the operations took twenty years in all (ix. 10). But this is doubtful.

[2] 1 Kings v. 18. [3] *Id.* v. 13 ff. [4] ix. 22. [5] xi. 28.

[6] Cf. too the words 'unto this day' in ix. 21.

[7] In the LXX. version, chapter ii. 46*c*, we read: καὶ Σαλώμων ἤρξατο ἀνοίγειν τὰ δυναστεύματα τοῦ Λιβάνου: this is explained by Winckler (*A. T. Untersuchungen*, p. 175) as referring to mines in Lebanon, where ancient workings have been found. Cf. Benzinger on 1 Kings ix. 19. Cf. Jeremiah xv. 12.

[8] vii. 46.

On the frontiers of his territory Solomon fortified certain cities: Ḥaṣôr, Megiddo, Gezer, Bêth-Ḥorôn the nether, Ba'alath, and Tamar in the wilderness.[1] With the exception of Ba'alath the sites of all these are known, and one of them, Gezer, has been laid bare by excavation in a more thorough fashion than the ruins of any other town in Palestine. Mr. Macalister is 'strongly inclined to seek, in the square towers inserted at irregular intervals along the [outer] wall, for the tangible traces' of Solomon's fortification of Gezer after the probable breaching of the wall by the king of Egypt.[2] Ḥaṣôr, probably the present Tell-Khurêbe above the Lake of Huleh, commanded the main entrance into Palestine from the North; Megiddo, the passage from Esdraelon to Sharon; Bêth-Ḥorôn, the most open ascent from Sharon, Jafa and the group of towns about the latter to Jerusalem; Gezer (as in the time of the Maccabean kingdom) the approach up the Vale of Ayyalôn from the coast, and a road which probably entered the hills by the town of Ayyalôn, and thence travelled by the present Ḳuriet el-'Eynab[3] to Jerusalem more directly than the Bêth-Ḥorôn road. Ba'alath lay either on this last road nearer to Jerusalem than Gezer, or on a more southerly approach to the capital. *Tamar in the wilderness* is the Roman Thamara,[4] on the road up the Negeb to Hebron from the Gulf of 'Aḳaba. If we may draw a deduction from the absence of towns in Moab, Gilead and Bashan, Solomon had nothing to fear upon those frontiers of his kingdom; and in fact Ḥaṣôr

4. The Screen of Frontier Fortresses

[1] ix. 15*b*, 17, 18.
[2] *P.E.F. Quart. Statement*, January 1905, pp. 30 f.
[3] I followed this natural and ancient track in 1904.
[4] Probably the present El-Kurnub.

and Tamar confronted the only two foreign peoples from whom he is reported to have had trouble—the Arameans and the Edomites; while the absence of Jericho and Ephraimite cities proves how quietly he held Northern Israel. Megiddo and Gezer controlled the main trade route between Damascus and Egypt; but besides protecting the international traffic, and thus enabling Solomon to fulfil his engagements with other potentates,[1] these two fortresses may have been further intended as a signal to the Phœnicians of the power of Israel.

Each of these cities, then, on the borders of the proper territory of Israel, covered an important trade route and secured the tolls upon it;[2] while three of them, Bêth-Ḥorôn, Gezer and Ba'alath, protected the more immediate approaches to the capital. Tamar was in hardly less close connection with Jerusalem, as one feels to-day at the occasional sight of a caravan from Sinai or the Gulf of 'Aḳaba at the Hebron gate of the City. Imagine these secure roads drawing in on Jerusalem! We can believe that with the completion of the fortresses upon them, a new sense of being at the centre of things, and an assurance of security, inspired her inhabitants, and contributed to her increase.

and their Protection of the Capital.

Besides those six fortified towns Solomon had a number of *store cities, and cities for his chariots, and cities for his horsemen.*[3] These were the necessary exceptions to his centralising policy. That he did not assemble his cavalry or chariots at the capital was due to the character of its surroundings,

5. The Store and Garrison Towns.

[1] Cf. the Tell el-Amarna letters, in which a king of Mesopotamia complains to the King of Egypt of the lawlessness from which his caravans had suffered in Palestine, then Egyptian territory. See above, p. 9.

[2] See vol. i. 343.

[3] 1 Kings ix. 19.

destitute of rich pasture, and too steep and broken for wheels. In contrast with the more open Samaria and Esdraelon, we seldom read of the use of chariots about Jerusalem.[1] Solomon kept his where they could manœuvre. Some horses, no doubt, appeared at the City. Solomon was the first to introduce horses into Israel, importing them, not from Egypt as the Hebrew text declares, but from the northern Muṣri and Ḳuë or Cilicia, as the more correct Greek version enables us to discover.[2] They would replace at his court the mules on which royal personages had hitherto ridden.[3]

We may infer, then, a considerable increase of the population of Jerusalem under Solomon, not only during the thirteen or twenty years in which his buildings were in progress, but permanently. The sites on which the new inhabitants settled can only have been the South-West Hill and the Central Valley. The extent of the enlarged City we shall consider when we treat of the wall which he built.

Consequent Increase of Jerusalem.

Besides a few scattered notes of the buildings erected by Solomon, the history of his reign contains a detailed account, 1 Kings v.-vii., of his preparations for, and his construction of, the Temple, the Palace, and their adjacent Halls. Unfortunately the text has suffered from the wear of tradition, from attempts at repair, and from insertions by a later age, to which the Temple was of more importance—the object at once of greater superstition and of more careful definition between the degrees of holiness ascribed to its

The Account of the Temple, etc.

[1] There are three instances: in one case the chariot carried a dead, in another a dying, man (2 Kings ix. 28; 2 Chron. xxxv. 24). See *H.G.H.L.* 330, with Appendix v. See vol. i. 325.

[2] 1 Kings x. 28; vol. i. 324.

[3] Vol. i. 326.

various parts—than it was under Solomon himself. For details the reader must be referred to the commentaries and various special treatises.[1] There is no doubt that the basis of the description of the Temple and adjacent buildings is a contemporary document, whether from the royal annals or the Temple archives.[2]

Sites of the Temple, Palace and Royal Halls.

That at first Solomon dwelt in the David's-Burgh, the former Ṣion, is clear from the statement that he brought there the daughter of Pharaoh, till he should finish his new buildings.[3] These it was most natural for him to raise in proximity to the David's-Burgh and the barracks of the Gibbôrîm; that is on the East Hill, on which there appears to have been open ground to the north. Here, it is generally agreed, lay the site which he chose for the Temple, the threshing-floor of 'Araunah on which David had erected an altar. For here in the time of the Maccabees we find the Second Temple, and there can be no doubt that this occupied the site of Solomon's, nor that the Mosque of Omar with its immediate platform occupies much the same site to-day:[4] the Mount Sion of several Old Testament writers, the 'Mount Moriah' of the Chronicler.[5] Round es-Sakhra, which is the summit of this part of the East Hill, the rock has been frequently levelled and scarped, but the present contours ascertained by the Ordnance

[1] See the commentaries mentioned on p. 48 *n.* 2, and especially Burney's with its valuable suggestions on the text of 1 Kings v.-vii. Of special treatises there are Stade, *Z.A.T.W.*, 1883, 129 ff., 'Der Text des Berichts über Salomo's Bauten' (cf. *Gesch. Isr.* i. 311 ff.); I. Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie*, 1894, §§ 35, 53, and arts. 'Palace' and 'Temple' in the *Enc. Bibl.*; Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebr. Arch.*, 1894; T. Witton Davies, art. 'Temple' in Hastings' *D.B.*, 1902.

[2] See below, pp. 109 f.

[3] 1 Kings iii. 1; ix. 24.

[4] Vol. i. 230 ff.

[5] Vol. i. 267.

Survey are sufficient evidence that there was upon it ample room for 'Araunah's threshing-floor.[1] Here, then, Solomon's Temple was built, surrounded by a Court of its own. But both Temple and Court were only the highest part of a complex of buildings and courts within one greater court, surrounded by a strong wall. To the south of the Temple Court, below it and separated by a wall[2] with an entry, lay a second inner court containing the *King's House* and the *House of the Daughter of Pharaoh.* And this being so, the rest of the buildings, *the Throne Hall*, *the Pillared Hall*, and *the House of the Forest of Lebanon*, must have lain on the other side of the Palace from the Temple. Such, too, is the order in which they are described in the account of their construction. In any case it is clear that the Palace lay above the David's-Burgh, for Pharaoh's daughter *came up* from the latter into the house which Solomon built for her,[3] and that the Temple lay above the Palace.[4] On all these data most moderns accept the general plan of the buildings drawn upon the ascertained contours of the hill by Professor Stade.[5] This is here reproduced but with the contour lines corrected after the data of the Ordnance Survey.[6]

The exact position of the Temple may be reasonably

[1] *Rec. of Jer.* 298, with plan.

[2] Separated only by a wall from the Temple-court, Ezek. xliii. 8; below the Temple-court, 2 Kings xi. 19: *they brought down the king from the house of Jahweh to the king's house.* Jer. xxvi. 10: the princes of Judah *came up* from the king's house to the house of Jahweh: cf. xxxvi. 11 ff.

[3] 1 Kings ix. 24.

[4] See last note but one.

[5] *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*; between pp. 314 and 315, with the contours supplied by Schick.

[6] *P.E.F. Excav. at Jerusalem*, Portfolio Plan VI.; *Rec. of Jerus.*, 298.

estimated from the data of Josephus and the Mishna and from the character of the Rock es-Ṣakhra and its surrounding contours. Josephus says that 'at first the highest level ground on the Hill was hardly sufficient for the Temple and the Altar,'[1] that is the Altar of burnt-offering in front of the Temple; and that Solomon and the people of subsequent periods built walls and banks till the Hill was made broad. But the summit of the Hill is es-Ṣakhra, and the rock-levels about it suit the levels of the Temple-Courts as given in the Mishna.[2] Moreover, the Rock es-Sakhra, now under the dome of the Mosque of Omar, is venerated by Mohammedans as second only to the shrine of Mecca. From the tenacity with which such sites in the East preserve their character, we may infer that in ancient times also the Rock was holy; and Professor Stade points out that as angels are represented in the Old Testament appearing on rocks, it is probable that the appearance of the angel to David by the threshing-floor, *between earth and heaven*, was believed to have taken place on this very summit.[3] Moreover, the Rock itself bears proofs of having been used as an altar. A channel penetrates from the surface to a little cave below, whence a conduit descends through the body of the Hill; obviously designed to carry off either the blood or the refuse of sacrifices.[4] Similar arrangements are seen on other Semitic altars. From all these data the conclusion is reasonable that the Rock, es-Ṣakhra, represents the Altar of Burnt-offering. But as

The Exact Site of the Temple and Altar of Burnt-Offering.

[1] 1 *B.J.* v. 1. [2] Conder, *Tent-Work* (6), 288.

[3] *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, i. 314; cf. Judges vi. 11 ff., 20; xiii. 19; 1 Chron. xxi. 16.

[4] *Rec. of Jerus.* 221.

this lay to the east of the Temple, we must place the site of the latter to the west of es-Sakhra. In that case the western end of the Temple stood upon some of those substructures which, as Josephus emphasises, were frequently laid down from the time of Solomon onwards.[1]

Description of the Temple.

From the description in First Kings, even when its omissions and obscurities are supplemented by Ezekiel's plans,[2] it is not possible to achieve such an exact reconstruction of Solomon's Temple as several moderns have attempted. The ground-plan may be drawn with some certainty, and we can realise the bulk of the whole as seen from the outside, along with the general aspect of the interior. But we are ignorant both of some of the exact proportions and of the general style of the architecture. The following facts must be

[1] On the improbability of the theory which places the Temple in the south-west corner of the Haram area, see vol. i. 231. The Temple is placed on the eṣ-Ṣakhra summit of the East Hill by the great majority of modern authorities: *e.g.* Robinson, Warren (*Rec. of Jerus.* 313); Thomson (*L. and B.* 688); Stade and Conder as cited above; Schick, Henderson (*Palestine*, 146); Socin and Benzinger (in *Baedeker* and elsewhere); Nowack (*Hebr. Archäol.* 27 f.); Sanday (*Sacred Sites*, etc., 58); Rix (*Tent and Testament*, 304). Of these Thomson, Stade, Socin, Benzinger, Nowack and Rix take eṣ-Ṣakhra as the site of the altar of burnt-offering. Conder, Henderson and Schick take it to have been the 'stone of foundation' (אבן שתייה, *Mishna* 'Yôma,' v. 2) on which the Ark rested within the Holy of Holies. But the dimensions of eṣ-Ṣakhra, 17·7 m. by 15·5 and 1·25 to 2 m. above-ground (according to *Baedeker*: about 58 feet by 50½, and from over 4 feet to 6½ high), are too great for it to have stood in the Holy of Holies, a cube of little over 30 feet; and the 'stone of foundation' was not a rock but a stone. Besides, to place the Holy of Holies at eṣ-Ṣakhra would leave too little space to the east for the Temple court. Warren places the altar of burnt-offering to the south of eṣ-Ṣakhra, which, arguing from the *Mishna* tract 'Middoth,' he takes to have been the site of the Gate Nitzotz (*P.E.F. Mem.* 'Jerus.' 98 f.).

[2] Ezek. xl. ff. Ezekiel's plans are of course ideal, but must be based on his knowledge as a priest of the First Temple.

kept in mind. A Temple was indeed no novelty in Israel. There had been one in Shiloh.[1] But Solomon's Temple appears to have been constructed after foreign patterns. It was built by Phœnician workmen, yet the description shows more likeness to the Egyptian than to the Phœnician type of sanctuary.[2] Again, we must not, in accordance with modern ideas, conceive of the Temple as a house for worshippers (whose place of assembly was rather in the court in front of it), but as the dwelling of the Deity; for by this we shall be prepared for its comparative smallness. Solomon's Temple lay east and west, a thick-walled, rectangular building of large squared stones and cedar beams, about 124 feet long by 55 broad and over 52 high;[3] with a porch of uncertain height on the east side, and round the others three

[1] Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 22; the second half, which speaks of *the tent of meeting*, is wanting in the Greek, and is no doubt an addition from a Priestly Writer, who supposed that the great tabernacle of P. had been set up in Shiloh. It contradicts the rest of the narrative, in which the Shiloh sanctuary is called a *hekal* or *temple*, with doorposts and a *lishkah* (i. 9 after the LXX. and Klostermann, iii. 3); cf. Jer. vii. 12 ff.; xxvi. 6, 9. (The other passages quoted in support of this which speak of the *house of Jahweh* (1 Sam. i. 7, 24; cf. Judg. xviii. 31) are not conclusive, for *house* might be a tent.) Opposed to this is another tradition (2 Sam. vii. 6 ff.), the author of which cannot have been acquainted with 1 Sam. i.-iii. (cf. Kennedy in *The Century Bible*). Fergusson's theory that Solomon's Temple was built on the model but twice the scale of the Tabernacle breaks down on the figures available, even if we were to allow that the Tabernacle of the Priestly Writer ever existed.

[2] Benzinger, *Hebr. Archä.* 385; cf. Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, 200 f. There is a very striking resemblance between the description of Solomon's Temple and that of the Temple of Hierapolis by Lucian (*De Dea Syra*).

[3] These figures are reckoned from what are evidently the internal dimensions, but without the breadth of the wall between the two chambers (viz. 60 by 20 by 30 cubits, which at 20·7 inches to the cubit equal 103½ by 34½ by 52 feet), *plus* the thickness of two walls each 6 cubits, and an allowance for the roof.

stories of *side chambers*—literally *ribs*—to a height of about 17 feet *plus* their roof. The interior was divided by a wall into two apartments. The outer, the *Hekal* or *Palace* of the Deity, called in later times *The Holy Place*, was nearly 70 feet long by 34½ broad and 52 high. The inner, the *Debîr* or *Back*, later the *Holy of Holies*, was a cube of 34½ feet, with apparently a chamber above it. Both were panelled with cedar and floored with cypress wood;[1] *there was no stone seen*; the cedar appears to have been richly carved. The *aebîr*, the actual dwelling of the Deity, contained the Ark, overhung by the Cherubim; it was absolutely dark, save perhaps for a single lamp. The high lattice windows in the main wall above the side chambers can have given but scanty light to the *hekal*, which contained the cedarn *Table of Shew-Bread*, or *Bread of the Presence*,[2] and perhaps *candlesticks* or *lampstands*.[3] At the entrance, either within or before the Porch, stood two bronze columns, of which that on the right was called *Yakîn* and that on the left *Boaz*;[4] probably representations of the *maṣṣebôth* or sacred pillars usual in Semitic sanctuaries, and once

[1] The overlaying of the walls with gold is a later addition to the description, as Stade has shown from the fact that the various statements of it are out of order and partly wanting in the LXX.

[2] 1 Kings vi. 20, LXX.: *and he made an altar of cedar*; vii. 48: *the table on which the Bread of the Face* or *Presence was, of gold.* The last word is doubtful. Ezekiel's was of cedar, xli. 22. In P. (Nu. iv. 7) the bread is called *the continual bread*; in Chron. (1 Chron. ix. 32; 2 Chron. xiii. 11) *the b. of arrangement* or *ordering*. 1 Kings vii. 48 is altogether doubtful; it mentions *a golden* altar which is not mentioned in vi., and is obviously the insertion of a later hand in order to introduce the altar of incense of the Second Temple. There was no incense in the first; see below.

[3] 1 Kings vii. 49, another late passage; the lampstands are not mentioned in vi., but in themselves are probable.

[4] 1 Kings vii. 21: יָכִין *he establishes* (?); בֹּעַז *in him is strength* (?).

legal, but afterwards condemned, in the worship of Israel.[1]

Round all the Temple, yet so that the greater part of its space extended upon the eastern front, lay the *Court of the House of Jahweh*, called also the *Inner Court*, to distinguish it from *The Other Court* round the Palace, and from *The Great Court* which compassed all the buildings.[2] In later times the first two were named *The Upper* and *Middle Courts* respectively.[3] With the sanctuary proper, *The Inner* or *Upper Court* was included under the name of *The House of Jahweh*.[4] That is, it was part of the Holy Place, and there the great bulk of the sacrifices were accomplished; for there, as we have seen, stood the Altar of the Burnt-Offering. In the description of Solomon's Temple there is no word of his having constructed an altar. Though in other parts of his history *a bronze altar before Jahweh* is mentioned, the probability is that this was a subsequent invention, and that Solomon, at least at first, simply used the bare Rock eṣ-Ṣakhra for his sacrifices.[5] In a later reign we

The Temple Forecourt, with the Altar of Burnt-Offering.

[1] Gen. xxviii. 18; xxxv. 14, etc.; Ex. xxiv. 4; Hos. iii. 4 (cf. Is. xix. 19) contrasted with Deut. xvi. 22; Lev. xxvi. 1. Robertson Smith (*Rel. of the Sem.* 191, 468) takes Yakîn and Boaz to have been altar-pillars, with hearths on their tops.

[2] *C. of the House of Jahweh*, חֲצַר בֵּית־יהוה, 1 Kings vii. 12. *Inner Court*, חֲצַר הַפְּנִימִית vi. 36, vii. 12. *Other Court*, חֲצַר הָאַחֶרֶת vii. 8. *Great Court*, הֶחָצֵר הַגְּדוֹלָה vii. 9, 12. Burney emends 1 Kings vii. 12 after the LXX. so as to bring out all three courts.

[3] See below, pp. 256 ff.

[4] Jer. xxxv. 4, etc.

[5] See above, p. 60. The theory that 1 Kings v. originally contained a description of the *bronze altar*, and that this was deleted by a later editor, is answered by Burney, p. 103. Robertson Smith explains the omission by his theory that Yakîn and Boaz were altar hearths (above *n.* 1), but this is improbable. The solution adopted above (cf. Skinner on viii. 64), that Solomon required to construct no altar, because the Rock now

shall find *a bronze altar* in the forecourt of the Temple, but this also may have been constructed on the same Rock, the surface of which is sufficient for its stated dimensions.[1] Between the Altar of Burnt-Offering and the Temple, but to the south-east of the latter, stood the *Bronze Sea*,[2] a huge cast-bronze tank, some seventeen feet in diameter, supported on the backs of twelve Bronze Bulls, facing by threes to the four quarters of heaven.[3] It is difficult to think that such a construction was meant for use only as a laver; and the plausible suggestion has been made that it embodied certain ideas which prevailed in the Babylonian and Canaanite religions, and, as various parts of the Old Testament prove, influenced at some time or other the religion of Israel. According to this theory *The Sea* was the symbol of the Great Deep, the primeval chaos subjugated (according to the Babylonians) by Marduk, whose symbol was the Bull, at this time a frequent image of deity also throughout Canaan and even within Israel. How much of this symbolism the

The Bronze Sea.

called eṣ-Ṣakhra was already used as such, has this in its favour, that a rock-altar, but not a bronze one, would conform to the practice in early Israel and the directions in Ex. xx. 24 f. But this does not amount to much, for Solomon introduced many innovations. The reference to a *bronze altar* in 1 Kings viii. 64 may be late; for the passage has other late elements, and the material of Solomon's altar in ix. 25 is not stated (yet note, it was *built*). 2 Chron. iv. 1, Ḥuram-abi's construction of a bronze altar, is late; and the earliest reliable mention of such an altar is therefore that in the story of Aḥaz, 2 Kings xvi. 14.

[1] 2 Chron. iv. 1; cf. Ezek. xliii. 13 ff. [2] 1 Kings vii. 39.

[3] מִמְצָק הַיָּם vii. 23; יָם הַנְּחֹשֶׁת 2 Kings xxv. 13, or simply הַיָּם 1 Kings vii. 39, 44; 2 Kings xvi. 17. 1 Kings vii. 23 ff. states 10 cubits as the diameter, 30 (approximately) as the circumference, and 5 as the depth. The capacity, either as given here (verse 26, 2000 baths) or as in 2 Chron. iv. 5 (3000 baths), is too great for these dimensions. The casting may not have been in one piece; some have thought of a wooden basin plated with bronze castings.

Israelites of Solomon's day recognised in the Bronze Sea with its twelve Bulls facing the four quarters of heaven is, of course, quite uncertain; but that the whole was associated with Babylonian notions is rendered probable by the fact that under the later and more exclusive monotheism, the Bronze Sea is either ignored, or studiously explained as a mere laver, or replaced by a laver.[1] If the theory be sound, we must add the Bronze Sea and its twelve Bulls to the other proofs afforded by the furniture of the Temple that under Solomon the religion of Israel still included a number of pagan elements, the elimination of which we shall have to watch in the course of Jerusalem's religious history. Besides the Sea there were ten travelling lavers on wheels, *mekonôth*,[2] five on the south and five on the north of the Temple. They too were decorated with mythological figures, lions, bulls and cherubim, and like the Sea are absent from the Temple arrangements of Ezekiel and the Priestly Writer. Upon the forecourt, thus furnished, were performed the daily and the greater sacrifices of king and nation; and here till the time of the Exile the mass of the people gathered without restriction for the

[1] The theory is due to Kosters (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1879, 445 ff.). Aḥaz took away the Bulls and put the Sea on a pavement, rather, it would appear, because he wanted the bronze than from a reforming motive, 2 Kings xvi. 17. Ezekiel has no place for the Sea; his Temple-spring seems its substitute. 2 Chron. iv. 6 explains it as a laver. In the Priestly writing a laver כִּיּוֹר stands in the place of the Sea, Exod. xxx. 18 ff.; xl. 7, 30. For Babylonian analogies see Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 153; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 63; *Rec. of the Past*, new series, i. 65; inscription of Ur-nina at Telloh, col. iii.: 'The temple of the goddess Gatumdug he has erected, the great *apzu* he has constructed,' . . . 'the apzu or deep was the basin for purification attached to a Babylonian temple, corresponding to the "sea" of Solomon.'

[2] 1 Kings vii. 27 ff. On the whole passage see especially Stade, *Z. A. T. W.*, 1883. *Mekonôth* may mean *bases*, but by some is compared with the Greek *mechanē*.

worship of God. The Rock eṣ-Ṣakhra became the national altar, the court around it the national auditorium. That high platform which Solomon spread about his Temple was to be identified with both the rival institutions of Israel's religion; the ritual and the ethic, sacrifice and prophecy. The king surrounded it, we are told, by a wall of three courses of hewn stone, and a course of cedar beams.[1] Through this an entry led to the palace-court. There was one gate on the north,[2] and certainly another, though it is not mentioned, on the east. At what date the lodges or chambers were added, which Baruch notices over these gates and in other parts of the court, we do not know.

South of the Temple-Court, separated only by a wall, but on a lower terrace, lay *The Other* or *Middle Court*,[3] enclosing *the House of the King*. This was built of hewn stone and cedar like the other royal buildings; which are described in 1 Kings vii. in the opposite order from that in which we now take them. Here, too, and most probably behind the Palace, was *the House of the Daughter of Pharaoh*;[4] and from the first there were doubtless many of those other buildings for the king's household, officials and stores which are mentioned in the time of Jeremiah.[5]

The Palace and its Court.

South of the Palace, and immediately adjacent to its Court, stood the *Hall of Justice* or *The Throne Hall*[6] panelled in cedar from floor to rafters, and distinguished by a great ivory throne supported by lions.[7] South

[1] 1 Kings vi. 36. [2] Below, p. 257. [3] Above, p. 64 *n.* 2.

[4] 1 Kings vii. 8, slightly emended: *and his house in which he was to dwell, in the other court, inwards from the Hall* of Justice, *was like the construction of this; also the House for the daughter of Pharaoh was like this Hall.*

[5] Below, pp. 258 f. [6] vii 7, אוּלָם הַכִּסֵּא or אוּלָם הַמִּשְׁפָּט.

[7] x. 18-20.

of this and probably constructed as its vestibule, was the *Hall of Pillars*,[1] some 86 feet by 52, which had a pillared porch and a flight of steps or heavy eaves—the Hebrew term is uncertain.[2]

The Throne, and Pillars, Halls.

And finally, to the south of these, stood the *House of the Forest of Lebanon*,[3] deriving its name from its complicated structure in that northern timber which was so strange to the people of Judah. It was the largest of all the buildings, 172 feet by 86 by 52. There seem to have been two stories: in the lower forty-five pillars in three rows supported the floor of the upper. An early document says that Solomon deposited in this House the three hundred shields of beaten gold, probably among the forest of pillars in the lower story.[4] The upper story, so firmly supported on the pillars, may have been designed for popular gatherings. Josephus says that Solomon 'prepared this House to receive a multitude for judgments and for the decision of public business, and to provide room for an assembly of men convened for cases of justice:'[5] that is, not to wait for the decisions of judges, but in order themselves to decide, as a popular assembly, upon the affairs of the state and of justice. If Josephus be not merely reflecting upon the reign of Solomon the conditions of his own times, we have here a curious illustration of the existence of that popular power which we have seen prevailing throughout the history of Israel, even under the most despotic of her kings.[6]

House of the Forest of Lebanon.

[1] vii. 6, אוּלָם הָעַמּוּדִים.

[2] עב; cf. Ezek. xi. 25 f.

[3] viii. 2 ff., בֵּית יַעַר הַלְּבָנוֹן.

[4] x. 17; cf. Is. xxii. 8, *the armour in the House of the Forest.*

[5] Jos. viii. *Ant.* v. 2.

[6] Vol. i. Bk. II. ch. x.

All these buildings, rising upon their successive terraces from the Forest House to the Temple—as attested no less by the ancient description of them than by the modern discovery of the contours of their sloping site—must have presented to the eyes of a people, still mainly in the agricultural stage of development, a very imposing spectacle; the effect of which we must not measure by the fact that the whole complex lay in all probability within the southern section of the present Haram area, or at the most extended but a little way beyond it.[1] *All these,* says the historian, *were of costly stones, according to the* usual *dimensions of ashlar, sawn with saws, inside and outside, from foundation to coping, from the Court of the House of Jahweh even to the Great Court.*[2] The latter encompassed the whole, and was itself surrounded by a great wall *of three courses of ashlar and one of cedar beams; round about the court of the House of Jahweh and the court of the porch of the palace.*[3] Not a fragment of these edifices or lines of wall has remained recognisable to the present day; but the relative positions of the edifices, and the directions of the walls, are tolerably clear from the data of their description and the natural contours of their rocky site. Above all, we must grasp in our minds two results of our investigation. The Temple was built by Solomon, and till the Exile remained, only as a part of the royal house and the government offices. And thus, both by the strength of the site which he chose, and by the wall with which he embraced it, Solomon created a separate citadel in Jerusalem, whose

Spectacular and Historical Effects of the whole.

[1] Vol. i. 230 ff.

[2] 1 Kings vii. 9; see Burney.

[3] vii. 12; Burney after the LXX.

distinctness from the rest of the City remained a factor of importance in the history, especially of her sieges, to the very end.

Besides the detailed account of Solomon's buildings on the East Hill, there are inserted at different points of 1 Kings ii.-xi. fragmentary statements about his fortifications of the City:—(a) Solomon *brought Pharaoh's daughter into the David's-Burgh until he had finished building his own house, the house of Jahweh and the wall of Jerusalem round about;*[1] (b) . . . *to build the house of Jahweh, his own house, and the Millo and the wall of Jerusalem . . . but the daughter of Pharaoh came up from the David's-Burgh to her house which he had built for her; at that time he built the Millo*[2]; (c) *And Solomon built the Millo and stopped the breach of the David's-Burgh.*[3] These fragments, so variously placed and rendered in the Hebrew and the Greek texts, apparently belong to one original statement[4] from an ancient source, probably the annals of Solomon's

Solomon's further Fortifications.

[1] Heb. text iii. 1, parallel to the Greek (Swete's ed.), ii. 35*c*: *until he had finished the house of Jahweh at first and the wall of Jer. round about*; and iv. 31: *the house of Jahweh, his own h. and the w. of Jer.*

[2] Heb. text ix. 15*b*, 24, parallel to the Greek, x. 23: *house of Jahweh, h. of the king, w. of Jer., and the citadel* (τὴν ἄκραν), *to complete the fortification of the city of David*; cf. ii. 35*e*: *and he built the citadel a defence upon it, he cut through, or off, the city of David*; 35*f*: *thus the daughter of Ph. came up from the city of D. to her house which he built for her; then he built the citadel*; 35*k* adds that he built Gezer and other cities *after* he built the palace, the Temple, and the wall of Jerusalem.

[3] Heb. text, xi. 27, exactly translated at the same point by the Greek; which in xii. 24*b* adds that it was Jeroboam who (under Solomon) enclosed the city of David.

[4] Wilson (Smith's *D.B.*[3]), 1598*a*), following Josephus (viii. *Ant.* ii. 1, vi. 1), takes 1 Kings iii. 1 and ix. 15 as referring to two different buildings of the wall of Jerusalem by Solomon before and after he built the Temple. But in all its repetitions the statement is apparently the same.

reign; there is no reason to doubt it. It tells us first that Solomon *built* or *fortified* the Millo. Had there not been a credible account of the Millo under David,[1] we might have inferred that this was an earthwork or dam to connect David's-Burgh, across the intervening hollow, with the new citadel to the north. But the account under David leads, as we have seen, to the conclusion that the Millo was an earth-bastion or solid tower on either the north-east, north-west, or at the south end of the David's-Burgh, or perhaps a dam across the Central Valley. It is significant that the Greek translators call it 'the Akra,' the name of the citadel which in Greek times occupied the site of the David's-Burgh.[2] Further, Solomon *stopped the breach of the David's-Burgh*, which we are unable to define except as a gap left by David in the fortifications of his citadel. And, lastly, *he built the wall of Jerusalem round about.* Did this run round the East Hill only, or include in whole or part the South-west Hill? Josephus regards it as identical with his First Wall, which from the Temple-cloisters crossed the Tyropœon, ran up the northern edge of the South-west Hill to 'the Tower of David,' and thence round that Hill to Siloam;[3] and many moderns accept the identification Dr. Guthe doubts if it was Solomon who carried the northern stretch of this wall across the Central Valley, and thinks that the circumvallation ran round the slopes of the South-west Hill, to which (he believes) the name Jerusalem, as distinct from David's-Burgh, was confined.[4] Dr. Bliss suggests that the south-west angle of Solomon's

The Millo.

The Wall round about Jerusalem.

[1] Above, p. 40 f.; but some think it unhistorical. [2] Vol. i. 156 ff.
[3] v. *B.J.* iv. 2. [4] Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 678.

fortifications was 'Maudslay's Scarp,' traces their line thence south-east on another scarp he uncovered to a rectangular wall above the Central Valley, and infers a continuation to the present Burj-el-Kibrit, and so across the valley to the East Hill.[1] On these theories Solomon's wall enclosed either the whole or the northern part of the South-west Hill, a conclusion in itself by no means improbable; for in that direction, as we have seen, must have spread the undoubted increase of the population. Still, it is possible that this was accommodated in suburbs. None of the remains recovered on the South-west Hill are recognisable as Solomon's. It has not been proved that the name Jerusalem was confined in early times to that Hill. And we ought to observe that none of the statements quoted above afford the slightest evidence for the inclusion of the Hill, or of any part of it, within Solomon's wall. On the contrary, this wall is associated by them only with buildings on the East Hill; and all they appear to prove is that the wall ran round both the David's-Burgh with the houses which covered the rest of the ridge falling to Siloam, and the new buildings which Solomon had erected to the north upon the same East Hill. In that uncertainty we must leave the question.

Religious Problems of Solomon's Reign.

An exact appreciation of Israel's religion under Solomon is one of the hardest tasks that await their historian; requiring as it does the difficult justice which is due alike to the high spiritual rank the religion had already attained, and to those facts, which conflict or seem to conflict with this, in the text of Solomon's annals: the little ethical

[1] Vol. i. 213 ff., 218. See especially 1 Kings iii. 1.

emphasis found in the oldest parts of that text, the evidence of elements in the national worship alien to its higher spirit; and the tradition of some doubt or even controversy among the prophets as to the Divine will regarding the Temple itself. We want to know what features of high and permanent value the religion already displayed; what Solomon and his Temple contributed to its subsequent development; and what ruder elements, either surviving in the ritual from its racial origins or perhaps introduced by Solomon from neighbouring nations, had to be thrown out of it, as in later centuries the prophets became more conscious of the real character of the religion. But for reasons already stated —the mixed style of the narrative and the obscurity which rests on Solomon's own character—all these are difficult to estimate.

Some points indeed are sufficiently clear. The Temple was built in the Name and at the Word of Jahweh alone. No other god was worshipped there. Nor was He represented by any image. The Ark, which from the days of Sinai He was believed to inhabit, was reverently laid in the darkness of the inner chamber, and towards this empty shrine wrapt in gloom the people, gathering on the sunlit court outside, worshipped as towards His Presence and the seat of His Power. On the day of Dedication (we are told), when the priests had deposited the Ark, and while a cloud immediately filled the empty House, Solomon pronounced certain words expressive of the nature of the God who had chosen it for His dwelling. Of this solemn utterance the Hebrew text has preserved only a part, but the Greek version yields us the whole—two couplets

Israel's Creed,

marked by the elliptic diction, the rhythm and the parallelism which are characteristic of Hebrew poetry:—

The Sun hath Jahweh set in the Heavens
But Himself *hath decreed to dwell in the Darkness.*
Build Me a House, a Homestead for Me,
To inhabit for ever.

The second of these couplets is rendered by the Hebrew as if it were Solomon's answer to the first:—

I have built thee a House, an Abode,
Seat of Thy Habitation for ever.[1]

The great antiquity of this verse is assured by a note in the Greek version which says that it is taken from the Book of Jashar,[2] the same to which we owe David's incomparable elegy on Saul and Jonathan. The four lines are therefore very precious: Israel's Creed, when they had built their Temple and assembling before it under the open heaven, lifted their hearts not thither but towards the dark and empty cell in front of them. The sources of this Creed are simple and significant, Nature and the Word: man's constant resorts for the knowledge of God, reacting upon, explaining and supplementing each other. Upon the one is manifest His creative power, *the Sun hath Jahweh set in the Heavens.* The other affirms His distinctness from all that is seen, His invisibleness and His inscrutable nature. *He hath*

[1] The Hebrew, which omits the first of the four lines, is found in 1 Kings viii. 12, 13. The Greek, giving all four lines, is inserted after verse 53. See Wellhausen, *Comp. des Hexateuchs*, etc., 271; Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, 193, 212; Benzinger, Burney and Skinner *in loco.*

[2] Greek: ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆς ᾠδῆς = בְּסֵפֶר הַשִּׁיר; but as Wellhausen suggests, transposing two letters, we ought probably to read בְּסֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר. This, of course, does not prove that Solomon himself uttered the words, but it ensures at least that they cannot be later than the age immediately after him.

said—this term is the simplest in the language—*He hath said He will dwell in the Darkness.* Without form He has formed all things. Maker of the light, His home is the cloud. His Power is high as heaven, but His Presence and local habitation are with men. These are the abiding antitheses of religion for which we still seek an adequate expression. Obedient to the Word, Israel, in contrast with all the peoples about them, have made no image of their God, but within and around His imageless shrine they have planted certain symbols or mythical types, of which we cannot say whether they had all descended from an earlier stage of the national religion or whether some of them were now borrowed by Solomon from his Canaanite neighbours. These are the two Cherûbîm towering above the empty Ark, the other Cherûbîm carved on the walls of the sanctuary, the Bronze Serpent, the position of which is unknown, the two Pillars in the Temple-Porch, and the Bronze Sea upon its twelve Bulls. As with the origin of these so with their meaning, we cannot tell what exactly they typified. Nor, perhaps, could the worshippers themselves, beyond some vivid suggestion of the various forms and forces of life which were at the command of the unseen Deity. The Cherubs are evidently intended as guardians or supporters of His Presence.[1] The Bronze Serpent is said to have been a

and Symbols.

[1] No satisfactory etymology has been found for the name *Kĕrûb* (cherub) either in Hebrew or any other language. The Hebrew idea of them greatly altered in the course of the history. As here, so in the Paradise story they are conceived as guards, and further associated with fire (Gen. iii. 24). So in Ezek. xxviii. 13 f. 16. In Ezek. i., x. the conception seems influenced by the Babylonian winged, human-headed bulls, which also stand as guards or sentinels. In Ps. xviii. 9, 10 the Kerûbîm are parallel to the storm-clouds or winds; the Deity rides on them. In the Apocalyptic literature

relic of the days and acts of Moses; but in accordance with Canaanite ideas Israel came to 'impute to it a special divinity and to offer it the smoke of their sacrifices.'[1] Pillars, like the two in the Temple-Porch, had been a part of Israel's ritual, as of that of every Semitic people, from the earliest times; and we have already seen the probability that the Bronze Sea on the twelve Bulls represented the subjection of the forces of nature to the Deity.[2] All these symbols, along with the Ark itself, disappeared gradually from the worship of Israel. The Bronze Serpent was removed by Ḥezeḳiah's reformation, the Bulls by the sordid necessity of another king for their bronze; the Sea was replaced by a Laver; the Pillars were forbidden by the Deuteronomic Law.[3] All were evidently found incompatible with the spiritual growth of the religion. In Solomon's time they represented those 'beggarly rudiments' from which the progressive faith of Israel had not yet shaken itself free.

Ethical Questions.

We cannot fail to notice that the Creed attributed to Solomon gives expression to neither of the two elements which, from other sources, we know to have been already powerful in the religion of the people—the historical and the ethical. Nothing is said of the great events by which Jahweh had made Himself known to Israel as their God; and nothing of the conduct which He required of them. This silence is curiously abetted by the rest of the older texts. Though the prophet Nathan, who had rebuked the sin of David,

they are, with the Seraphim and the Ophannim, *the angels of power* (Enoch lxi. 10 ff.; cf. xx. 7), guardians of the Divine Throne (lxxi. 7). Some have associated the early Hebrew form with that of the Hittite griffin (Cheyne, art. 'Cherub,' *Enc. Bibl.*).

[1] 2 Kings xviii. 4. [2] Above, pp. 65 f. [3] Above, pp. 64, 66.

was among the forces which made Solomon king, there is no mention of prophetic influence throughout the rest of the latter's reign; and the only historical or ethical references which occur are those found in the great addresses attributed to Solomon at the Dedication of the Temple. That these, as they stand, are the work of some centuries later cannot be doubted; they are written throughout from the Deuteronomist's standpoint and in his own characteristic style. But it would be wrong to suppose that he had no authentic material from which to elaborate them. As remarked above, both the historical and ethical elements were already developed in the religion of Israel, and we cannot believe that the consciousness of either was absent from the men who built the Temple or that it failed to find some expression on so great a festival as that of the Dedication. But it would be precisely such an expression on which the Deuteronomist would sympathetically fasten, and on which he would naturally bestow a more elaborate form.

The Presence of other Cults in Jerusalem.

Even while imputing to the aged king a serious delinquency from the virtue of his youth, the Deuteronomist nowhere asserts that Solomon himself sacrificed to another god than Jahweh. Nor are there ascribed to Solomon any of the horrors which more than one of his successors imported from Canaanite faiths into the national worship: neither the sacrifice of children nor the orgies of the *kedeshim*. But we have no reason to doubt the substance of the tradition[1] that Solomon provided shrines in Jerusalem for many foreign deities. This was the inevitable conse-

[1] Elaborated by the Deuteronomist in 1 Kings xi. 1-13.

quence, according to the ideas of the time, of the king's treaties with monarchs of other faiths, his marriages with their daughters, and his trade with their merchants. It implies, of course, not only a conception of religion still below a perfect monotheism, but an evil effect upon the man whom his policy forced to it. The king, however exclusively he had dedicated the Temple to the God of Israel, could not live with so many wives nor provide for so many alien forms of worship without himself deteriorating in character and without tempting his people to that confusion of their own higher worship with the other cults of Canaan, which was of constant peril to Israel, but especially dangerous at a time when the ancient Canaanite communities were being absorbed into the nation.

Probable Motives for the Erection of the Temple.

As to the Temple itself, we are left in some doubt by the conflicting reports of the motives which led to its erection. One narrative recounts how prophecy had at first conveyed to David the Divine permission to build it; and had then, in the same Lord's name, withdrawn this permission on the ground that He had never inhabited a House but had gone about in a Tent and a Tabernacle.[1] Another asserts that Solomon explained to Hiram how David could not build a House for the name of his God, because wars were about him on every side;[2] and similar is the reason given by the Chronicler, that David's hands were stained with blood.[3] These three statements occur in texts which criticism has good grounds for judging to be late. But in the second

[1] 2 Sam. vii.: see Kennedy in the *Century Bible*.
[2] 1 Kings v. 2 f.
[3] 1 Chron. xxii. 8 ff.; xxviii. 2 f.

the description of so sudden a change in the Divine purpose can hardly be a pure invention. It probably preserves the memory that David's proposal had raised a controversy among the prophets. There were two opinions as to whether a Temple was right. Those who objected to it may have done so with the instinct, which afterwards developed into articulate expression, that to conceive of the dwelling of so great a God as confined to a house made with hands, was to contradict His true nature. But their opposition more probably arose from the feelings expressed by the narrator, that all the proposed splendour was an innovation upon that plainer investment of the Divine Presence with which the nation had been content from the days of their nomadic simplicity. And, indeed, it is clear that the converse was at least one of the motives of Solomon in designing this new departure. The erection of a Temple was part of the imperial policy in which he imitated the greater monarchs of his time. The Temple (as we have seen) was upon a foreign model. It arose as one of a complex of royal buildings, and within the same walls by which the king fortified his palace, his court and his halls of justice. He himself sacrificed upon its altar, assuming the dignity which afterwards belonged to the priests alone. Not only did his foreign guards act as its police, but there are reasons for supposing that they also discharged the duty of slaughtering the animals for its sacrifices.[1] All this is so contrary to the later Jewish systems, which carefully exclude foreigners from the

[1] See Robertson Smith, *O. T. J. C.* p. 262 *n.* 1. The phrase *captain of the guard* literally means *chief of the slaughterers*, as altar is literally *slaughter-place.*

Temple and reserve to one priestly tribe both the sacrificial offices and the duty of watching the sacred courts, as to confirm us in the belief that in instituting the Temple Solomon was also in no way moved by the later policy of centralising the national worship. In fact, the Deuteronomic editor admits that this centralisation did not take place for a very long time afterwards. For at least a couple of centuries no king proposed or attempted the removal of the rural high-places at which Jahweh was worshipped. It will be our duty to observe the first faint beginnings of the idea, with their evident motives in the circumstances of Judah's history. For long Solomon's Temple did not even become the most important sanctuary of Israel's God. About 750 the pilgrims of Northern Israel not only preferred the more ancient shrines of Bethel and Gilgal, but still passed by Jerusalem for Beersheba',[1] as Elijah had done for Sinai.

The Religious Influence of Solomon and the Temple.

But these facts must not be permitted to weaken our sense of the influence of Solomon and his Temple upon the subsequent religious development of Israel. The Temple, not only because it was more imposing than any other in the land, and was identified with the one enduring dynasty of the nation, but because it preserved the shrine of ancient Israel and a purer form of the worship of God than elsewhere prevailed, could wait for that future which lay beyond the calamities that were immediately to assail it. So far Solomon was the pioneer of the prophets and the Deuteronomists in the creation of the unique sacredness of Sion and of the religious service which Jerusalem

[1] Amos viii. 14.

has achieved for humanity. Nor was his share in this history merely of a formal or material character. By his peaceful reign and his organisation of the national life Solomon provided opportunity[1] for the beginning of those habits of reflection, the growth of that wisdom, which tradition so generously imputes to him. To a reign which has left such memories, the most sceptical historian cannot grudge the rudiments at least of the reflective literature of Israel. And what food for reflection was furnished by Solomon's Temple and his Creed! Both were pregnant with those religious antitheses through controversy on which the truth appears to be providentially developed towards its fullest expression. On the one side the fact that a local habitation was built for God the Creator, and that this was believed to be His *habitation for ever*; on the other side the fact that He chose to dwell in the cloud, and that the inmost shrine of His Temple was dark and imageless—these represent the two poles between which religious controversy in Israel oscillated through Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Evangelists of the Exile, the Priestly legislators and the Psalmists of Judaism down to the conversation of Jesus with the woman of Samaria and the speech of Stephen before the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem. In his Temple Solomon, like every other founder of a religious institution, bequeathed to future generations the material for dogmas that were superstitious and enslaving. But the history will show us that at the same time he gave to their purer worship and more spiritual conceptions the only home and fortress in which these could come to maturity. After all, *salvation was of the Jews*; and the sum of

[1] On this see Ewald, *History of Israel*, Eng. Trans. iii.

our judgment must be that if the religion of Israel under Solomon had not yet escaped bondage to the things which are seen, nor for many centuries to come could do so, it had already the instinct at its heart that the things which are unseen are the things which are eternal.

CHAPTER IV

FROM REHOBOAM TO AHAZ

c. 933–720

THE period of Jerusalem's history upon which we now enter is bounded by two dominant events which across it confront each other with opposite effects upon the fortunes of the City: the Disruption of the Kingdom about 933 B.C., and the Fall of Northern Israel in 721-720. The Disruption of the Kingdom deposed Jerusalem from her brief glory as the capital of all Israel, and left to her only the small province of Judah and a Temple whose reputation, in spite of its greater splendour and purer worship, was still below those of more ancient sanctuaries in the land. The Fall of Samaria restored Jerusalem to the rank of the single metropolis of her people, commanding indeed a smaller territory, but one that was more compact and secluded, and about to be endowed with the greater fame of the one inviolable shrine of the true God. Between these distant and opposite crises there came a long ebb and a gradual flow of the City's fortunes. At first Jerusalem suffered additional despoiling and disgrace, but under the later of the twelve monarchs of the period she more than recovered her former strength. It would be wrong, however, to assume

The General Importance of the Period.

that the time of her sufferings was one only of loss. Jerusalem preserved the Ark with its more spiritual cult of the national God, and remained true to the dynasty of David, the guardian of its bright and pregnant traditions. Thus both her misfortunes and her recoveries during the period made for the glory of her future: the misfortunes by the memories and the hopes in which they disciplined her people; the recoveries by preparing the material basis on which her unique holiness was to be vindicated by the hand of God Himself. Some recent historians have minimised the importance of Jerusalem during the period of the Double Kingdom. They have been moved to do so by a natural reaction from the tradition that the incomparable sacredness of the City was already realised under Solomon and by a just desire to emphasise the influence of the prophets in the creation of her greatness. But the duty of showing how slowly this greatness came, and how essential to it were the contributions of prophecy, cannot be properly discharged without some appreciation of the political and religious importance which Jerusalem achieved before the time of the prophets, and of which their tributes to the City are the strongest certificates. Whatever Solomon may have done for Jerusalem, it is during the long and broken period on which we now enter that we shall find the first slow developments of that material and spiritual grandeur with which the Prophets and the Law finally endowed her.

1. Rehoboam: *c.* 933–917

The Biblical history of the Disruption of the Kingdom

consists of two narratives. According to one which is generally, but too hastily, assigned to a writer of Northern Israel, Rehoboam upon the death of his father went to Shechem, where all Israel gathered to make him king.[1] Did this narrative stand alone, it would be evidence that in spite of David's choice and Solomon's embellishment of Jerusalem the City was not yet regarded as the focus of the national life, but that the latter still found a more natural centre at Shechem.[2] Such an impression, however, is dispelled by another account preserved in the Septuagint.[3] According to this Rehoboam had begun to reign in Jerusalem before Jeroboam returned from Egypt on hearing of Solomon's death, and went to Shechem only after Jeroboam's appearance there at the head of the revolt.[4] Whether the negotiations between Rehoboam and the northern Israelites took place before or after the

The Revolt of Northern Israel, *c.* 933.

[1] 1 Kings xii. 1 ff. The addition, that at this time Jeroboam also came to Shechem, which the Hebrew text contains, is not original, as we see both from its omission by the LXX. and from the statement, in verse 20, that Jeroboam was sent for and came to Shechem only after the revolt had begun. This narrative has been assigned to a northern writer, both because the blame of the Disruption is imputed by it to Rehoboam (hardly a sufficient reason, considering that Judæan historians did not hesitate otherwise to condemn the early kings of Judah) and because a Judæan writer would hardly have allowed that the succession to the throne was decided upon Solomon's death by the popular election implied in this account (nor is this conclusive, for a Judæan scribe might be glad to record the popular confirmation of a son of Solomon).

[2] See *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, 119 ff., 332.

[3] Swete's ed. 1 Kings xii. 24 *a-z*. This account is generally assigned to a Judæan writer, as it opens with the usual formula for the beginning of a reign of a king of Judah, assumes Rehoboam's succession as a matter of course, and imputes the blame of the Disruption to Jeroboam. On the whole question of the relation of the two accounts and their comparative value see Skinner's Appendix, note ii., to *Kings* in the *Century Bible*.

[4] Verse 24*n* (Swete). The arguments against this account by Kuenen and Kittel are not conclusive. It appears the more natural.

arrival of the former at Shechem is uncertain. The result was that Rehoboam, discarding the advice of his father's counsellors for that of his younger contemporaries, refused to lighten the burdens laid on the people by Solomon. He answered the suppliants with an insult, and wantonly aggravated this by sending them Adoniram, *who was over the levy*. They killed Adoniram, and Rehoboam saved himself only by flight to Jerusalem. The Disruption was complete.

Effects on Jerusalem.

The effect upon Jerusalem is clear. The City remained loyal to the dynasty to which she owed her rank, and retained her supremacy over Judah;[1] but she was deprived of the resources, both religious and commercial, which she had enjoyed under Solomon. She still held the ancient shrine of Jahweh; but Jeroboam, whom a prophet of Jahweh had acclaimed as king of Northern Israel, established His worship in two sanctuaries at either end of the kingdom, a striking contrast to the centralising policy of Solomon. The Temple[2] was cut off from the vast majority of Israel, for the trans-Jordanic tribes joined the Northern Kingdom. The loss to Jerusalem was not only religious. The sanctuaries of the time were its principal markets as well,[3] and the trade, which a monarch so vigilant for the commercial interests of his realm must have included among his designs in building the Temple, would be largely diverted from its courts. At Bethel, which, besides possessing more

[1] 1 Kings xii. 20: *the tribe of Judah only*. This is confirmed by the list of cities fortified by Jeroboam; they are all in Judah (2 Chron. xi. 5 ff.). Thus the words *and the tribe of Benjamin* in 1 Kings xii. 21 must be a later addition.

[2] It is uncertain how much adhesion the Temple had secured among Northern Israelites in Solomon's time.

[3] Vol. i. 354.

ancient religious associations than Jerusalem, stood near the junction of two trade routes, Jeroboam instituted at harvest-time a great festival which would also be a great fair.[1] This was only twelve miles from Jerusalem, and in times of peace would attract, by its double temptation, numbers of traders from Judah.[2] Jerusalem, too, had lost the sumptuousness of her court.[3] The low morale of the City under these losses may be judged from the spirit of the counsellors whom Rehoboam had chosen, as well as from the abandonment of the campaign against the Northern Kingdom which they proposed. Prophecy had too emphatically blessed the secession for any immediate hope of victory against it. The impression of this fact upon the people of Judah may even have led to the formation of a party favourable to the North, unless the sympathies of those likely to join it were alienated by the establishment of the images at Dan and Bethel. In any case it was a shaken and dispirited people in Judah who now faced inevitable war with the larger and richer tribes that had broken away from them.

The state of war lasted sixty years.[4] Soon after it began Judah suffered in addition from an Egyptian invasion. This was the first of many warnings to Israel of the necessity of her union, for Egypt, though in possession of the Philistine coast, had not dared to attack the united kingdom under David and Solomon. But *in the fifth year of Rehoboam*

Invasion of Judah by Shoshenk of Egypt.

[1] 1 Kings xii. 32.

[2] Cf. the appearance of Amos at Bethel; he may have gained his experience of life in North Israel and of the ritual at Bethel by his journeys as a woolseller. Cf. *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, i. pp. 79 ff.; and Driver, 'Joel and Amos' in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, p. 105.

[3] See above, pp. 52 f.

[4] 1 Kings xiv. 30; xv. 6, 16; xxii. 44.

Shishaḳ (or *Shoshaḳ*), *king of Egypt*, that is Shoshenḳ I., of the twenty-second dynasty, *came up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the house of Jahweh, and the treasures of the king's house, and all the golden shields which Solomon had made*, and which the king's guards used when escorting him to the Temple.[1] It is not said that Jerusalem was forcibly taken by Shoshenḳ, nor is this necessarily implied by the Chronicler's account, which adds that Shoshenḳ *took the fenced cities of Judah*.[2] Shoshenḳ's own list of the cities affected by his campaign covers Israel as well as Judah, but his enumeration may include cities which sent him tribute besides those which he took by force of arms.[3] Among them the name of Jerusalem has not been deciphered.[4] Reḥoboam replaced the golden shields by shields of bronze, and is said by the Chronicler to have fortified a number of cities in Judah.[5] These were Bethlehem, 'Eiṭam (Arṭās, just south of Bethlehem), Teḳoa' and Beth-ṣūr (Bêt-ṣūr), all between Jerusalem and Hebron; Hebron itself; Zīph (Tell Zif, south-east of Hebron), Mareshah, Adoraim (Dora)

[1] 1 Kings xiv. 25 ff. For Shishak LXX. B reads Σουσακειμ, and says that the shields were those which David took from the Arameans: 2 Sam. viii. 7. The consonants of the Hebrew text of verse 25 read Shoshaḳ.

[2] 2 Chron. xii. 4.

[3] See W. Max Müller, *Enc. Bibl.*, arts. 'Egypt,' § 63 (with a reproduction of part of Shoshenḳ's list), and 'Shishak,' according to which the enumeration of the northern cities 'merely means that the northern kingdom was tributary; it is only the second half of the list which contains details pointing to the actual conquest, and these seem to belong to Judah.' This seems a more natural explanation than that given by C. Niebuhr and Winckler (*Gesch. Israels*, i. 160 *n.* 1) that the northern cities in the list were conquered by Shoshenḳ for Rehoboam. Had the Miṣraim to which Jeroboam fled been the Arabian Muṣri, as Cheyne argues (cf. the art. 'Shiskak'; cf. Winckler, *Gesch.* ii. 273), it is difficult to see why Shoshenḳ should have interfered so partially with the two kingdoms.

[4] But see vol. i. 268.

[5] 2 Chron. xi. 5 ff.

and Lakīsh, all guarding the approaches to Hebron from the south; Soko, 'Adullam, Gath and 'Azeḳah, all on or near the border between the Shephelah and the hill-country of Judah;[1] Ṣor'a and Ayyalôn commanding two passes to Jerusalem from the coast.[2] This list, in contrast with that of the cities fortified by Solomon,[3] exhibits how shrunken was the territory of which Jerusalem was now the capital. On the east her connection with Jericho was severed; and Jericho, if we may judge from the care which so many invaders of Judæa took to possess it before advancing on Jerusalem, was always a convenient source of supplies for the latter. No cities to the north of Jerusalem are mentioned on the list. In Reḥoboam's time that border must have been drawn immediately above Jerusalem. Her own walls confronted it without any intervening fortress.

2. ABIYAH: *c.* 916-914

After a reign of seventeen years, Reḥoboam was succeeded by Abiyah, his son by Maakah, the daughter of Absalom. Abiyah reigned three years.[4] The Deuteronomic editor passes on this king an adverse judgment, which is explained by the first acts of his successor. War continued between him and Jeroboam. The Chronicler gives a detailed account (which, to say the least, is much coloured by the circumstances of a later age)[5] of a battle between Abiyah and Jeroboam

War with N. Israel.

[1] *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, 205 ff.

[2] The position of Hebron on the list—last, both in the Hebrew and in the LXX.—is curious.

[3] Above, pp. 55 f.

[4] 1 Kings xv. 1-8. The Hebrew text spells the name Abiyam; but Abiyah is confirmed by the LXX., Ἀβιου, and by 2 Chron. xiii. 1. On Maakah see the commentaries.

[5] 2 Chron. xiii. 2 ff.

at Ṣemaraim, near Bethel, in consequence of which Abiyah was able to push his frontier north to Bethel, to Jeshana, probably the present 'Ain Sinîyeh,[1] and to Ephron or Ephraim, the present eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh. Abiyah was not able to keep these cities, for under his successor the frontier appears south of Ramah.

3. Asa: *c.* 913-873

Abiyah was succeeded by his son[2] Asa, who is said to have reigned over forty years, the round number for a generation. The first record of his reign is one of religious reform.[3] He removed the idols which *his fathers had made*, along with an image erected by the Queen-mother, Maakah. He did not remove the *high places*, or local sanctuaries of Jahweh, but he gathered into the Temple the *holy things which he and his father* had dedicated. The text calls the image erected by Maakah *a horrible* or *grisly*[4] *thing belonging to an Asherah*; but *grisly thing* may be a substitute for a word which either moral or religious delicacy forbade the later scribes to write. Asa *cut down* the thing and burned it at the Ḳidron. This record is from the Deuteronomic editor, but as the reforms described in it fall short of the Deuteronomic standard, it must be founded on an earlier source, and we have no reason to doubt the details. They illustrate the congenital and obdurate heathenism

First Religious Reforms.

[1] Cf. Josephus, xiv. *Ant.* xv. 12.

[2] As Asa's mother is given the same name as Abiyah's, *Maakah the daughter of Absalom* (1 Kings xv. 2, 10), some would read *brother* for *son* in verse 8. Alternatively Maakah, the mother of Abiyah, continued to enjoy the rank of Queen-mother in the beginning of Asa's reign. Or there is a confusion of the two names.

[3] 1 Kings xv. 9-15.

[4] LXX. σύνοδος; Jerome, a phallic object.

with which Ezekiel charges Jerusalem. The original Jebusite population remained among their Hebrew conquerors; and their ritual, as of gods of ancient association with the place, must have been a constant temptation to the latter. That it was native gods whose idols Asa removed is confirmed by the survival to a later age of the foreign cults established by Solomon in connection with his trade and treaties with the Phœnicians and other nations. The most interesting detail, however, is Asa's gathering of *holy things* to the Temple. These must have been brought from other sanctuaries. Was this done for their greater security? Or may we see in the fact the first step towards that gradual centralisation of the worship which the Deuteronomic reform was to consummate? In this connection we notice that, according to the Chronicler, Asa attracted to the purer worship of the Temple a number of the Northern Israelites.[1] This is very probable.

The political events of Asa's reign are mainly taken from the early annals both of Judah and Israel.[2] In Northern Israel Jeroboam was succeeded for two years by his son Nadab, who while laying siege to Gibbethon,[3] a Philistine town, was slain by Ba'sha, of the house of Issachar, and Ba'sha carried on the war both against Judah and the Philistines.[4] Against the former he fortified Ramah of Benjamin, five miles north of Jerusalem, *that he might not suffer any to go out or*

Successful Campaigns.

[1] 2 Chron. xv. 9 ff.

[2] Judah, 1 Kings xv. 16-22; Israel, *id.* 27-29*a*; xvi. 9-11, 15*b*-18, 21-24 (except 23). The other verses are from the Deuteronomic editor.

[3] 1 Kings xv. 27: a frontier town of Dan, Josh. xix. 44; xxi. 23.

[4] According to 1 Kings xvi. 15, Gibbethon was still besieged by Israel when 'Omri rose to take the crown.

come in to Asa king of Judah.[1] To relieve the pressure, Asa stripped the Temple and his own house of their silver and gold, and sent this to Ben-ḥadad of Damascus to bribe him to break his league with Israel. Ben-ḥadad invaded the northern provinces of Israel; and when Ba'sha in consequence suspended the fortification of Ramah, Asa carried off the material and fortified therewith Geba' of Benjamin—either Geba' on the natural frontier formed by the valley of Michmash,[2] or Gibe'ah, three miles from Jerusalem[3]—and Mizpah, either the present Neby Samwīl[4] or Scopus on the north road. Jerusalem had now these screens between her and the frontier of Israel, yet Asa did not dare to carry his arms across the latter, not even during the civil war which followed the overthrow of Ba'sha's dynasty.[5] According to the Chronicler, Asa won a decisive victory over Zeraḥ the Kushite, near Mareshah, and pursuing him to Gerar took much spoil.[6] These invaders, who are usually understood to have been the Ethiopian Kushites, were more probably from Arabia, where there were tribes of the name. The booty taken from them points to their being Arabs. If this was so, then we see the first of many Arab failures to invade Judah from the south. Fortified towns which yielded to more civilised invaders proved a sufficient screen to Jerusalem against the Nomads; and, near as she lay to the Desert, no Arab invasion reached

[1] xv. 16 f.
[2] The present Geba' on the Wâdy Suweinit.
[3] Tell el-Ful.
[4] In whose neighbourhood we find a fortification, Bethome (Beitunî?), in the days of Alexander Jannæus.
[5] xvi. 9-22.
[6] 2 Chron. xiv. 8-14. The Hebrew text says that the battle took place in the glen of Ṣephathah, *i.e.* צְפָתָה, for which the LXX. read צְפֹנָה, *κατὰ βορρᾶν, to the North of.*

her walls[1] till the time of the Hasmoneans, when the Nabateans, aided by a force of Jews, besieged the Holy City.

Asa lived through the reign of 'Omri and saw the genius of the latter create from its foundations the one city which was to prove, in history as in prophecy, the counterpart and rival of Jerusalem. It is remarkable how from the beginning Shechem disappeared out of the politics of Northern Israel. The geographical centre of the whole land, on the main trade route across the Western Range, and endowed with abundant fertility, Shechem appears to have lost her supremacy through the military weakness of her site.[2] When Jeroboam formed his kingdom, he removed his residence from Shechem to Tirzah, commanding one of the eastern avenues to his land; and Tirzah was retained as their capital by the following dynasty. But 'Omri, partly because of his alliance with Phœnicia, crossed to the western face of Mount Ephraim, and selected a new site on an isolated hill at the head of the chief pass to the coast. He called this, according to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, Shōmerōn, which might be taken to mean the same as the German Wartburg; but the Greek and Aramaic forms preserve what is probably an older vocalisation, Shamrain, from which the form Samaria is derived.[3]

The Rise of Samaria.

The new capital rapidly gathered the Northern Kingdom under her lead—*the head of Ephraim is Samaria*[4]

[1] Unless we take as historical, and as referring not to the Philistines, but to the Arabs alone, 2 Chron. xxi. 16.

[2] *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, 346 ff.

[3] LXX. B of 1 Kings xvi. 24, Σεμερων, Σαημερων; Aramaic, Ezra iv. 10, 17, Shamrain; cf. the Samarina of the Assyrian inscriptions.

[4] Isaiah vii. 9.

—and gave her name to the whole of it. To the earlier prophets of Judah Samaria was already the double of their own Jerusalem, both in character and in the consequent doom which their God sent upon His people. That later prophecy should remember her as Jerusalem's elder sister[1] is explained by her position. Young and upstart as she was, Samaria derived from the greater fertility and openness of her surroundings a precocity of growth which lifted her above Jerusalem in wealth and energy.

Comparison with Jerusalem,

Grey, shrunken and withdrawn, Jerusalem must sometimes have envied the brilliance of her younger rival. Yet envy cannot have been the only nor the prevailing temper of her people in this period. Jerusalem held the Ark, was constant to her one dynasty, and lay more aloof from the probability of invasion. Samaria did not contain the principal sanctuary of her kingdom,[2] was the creature of a usurping dynasty that at any time might pass away like its brief predecessors, and besides had to endure, on her open and forward position, one siege after another from powerful invaders. On these facts wise minds in Jerusalem knew that their City could wait, and nursed for her the promises of David. They were inspired by the possession of a poetry, popular and national, which not only, as in the *Oracles of Balaam*, sang the glories of Israel undivided; but signalised, as in the *Blessing of Jacob*, the political pre-eminence of Judah.[3] It is certain that Judæan writers of the period

to the latter's advantage.

[1] Ezekiel xxiii. 4.

[2] Which was in Bethel, Deut. xxxiii. 12 (see below, p. 96), Amos vii. 13.

[3] It is hard to believe that the longer oracles of Balaam are later than the days of Saul and David. 'The Blessing of Jacob,' Gen. xlix. 1-27, is assigned by Driver (*Genesis*, p. 380) to 'the age of the Judges or a little later,' by

were busy with new works. Among these we may place the strong and spirited narratives of the reigns of David and Solomon (obviously based on earlier documents), which emphasise Jerusalem as the centre of the national life they celebrate. Many also assign to this period the Judæan constituent of the Pentateuch, the Jahwist Document, and this breathes a more confident spirit, a firmer sense of possessing the future, than the parallel northern narrative of the Elohist. There is not, however, either in the poetry or in the histories just cited, any expression or even foreboding of that unique sacredness which future events and legislation were to confer upon Jerusalem. Whether or not the Book of the Covenant[1] was known and obeyed in Judah at this time, the practice which it sanctions of worshipping Jahweh at many altars was recognised as freely there as in Northern Israel. His *high places* were not yet removed. But though none of the literature of Judæa predicts the Single Sanctuary, it reveals the moral and political elements which were unconsciously working towards the ultimate centralisation of the worship of Jahweh.

By the Northern Kingdom, Jerusalem at this time seems to have been wholly disregarded. To begin with, that Kingdom called itself Israel, flying high its title to be regarded as the actual people of Jahweh. Permeated by a strong, self-reliant temper, its annals and narratives do not even

Jerusalem ignored in the North.

Duhm (*Enc. Bibl.* col. 3797) to the early reign of David, and by Kautzsch (*Abriss d. Gesch. d. A.-T. Schrifttums*, p. 142) to at least as early as Solomon's reign, though he admits the possibility of a later date. See also G. B. Gray, *Numbers*, pp. 313 f. Wellhausen and others, because of verse 23, date the blessing after the Aramean invasions. The collections of poems known as *The Book of Jashar* and *The Book of the Wars of Jahweh*, used by the Jahwist, were also in existence.

[1] Exod. xx. 22 to xxiii. 19.

mention Jerusalem. The drought of Elijah's time must have afflicted Judah as well as Israel and Phœnicia, yet in his splendid story the name of Judah occurs but once, and then casually as defining the position of Beersheba.[1] When Elijah himself sought Jahweh, it was not the Temple which was the goal of his pilgrimage but Horeb. This is not to be explained by the probability that Judah was already the vassal of Israel, and that the fugitive prophet sought a shrine of his God beyond the influence of Ahab. The truth is that for the prophecy of the Northern Kingdom, Jerusalem at this time had no religious significance. If the Blessing of the Tribes (in Deuteronomy xxxiii.), as its contents and spirit seem to prove, is an Ephraimitic work from the beginning of the double kingdom, its eulogy of Benjamin, as containing the dwelling of Jahweh, must refer to Bethel, for, as we have seen, the documents of the period do not include the tribe of Benjamin in the Southern Kingdom.[2]

4. Jehoshaphat: *c.* 873–850

The High Character of Jehoshaphat,

It is not easy to estimate the effects upon Jerusalem of the reign of Jehoshaphat. Owing to the character of the traditions we must deal largely with inferences. Yet the general facts from which these have to be drawn are well attested. The war between Israel and Judah had at

[1] 1 Kings xix. 3; but 2 Chron. xxi. 12 ff. records a writing from Elijah to Jehoram (below, pp. 99 f.).

[2] On the date of Deut. xxxiii. see the commentaries. Driver and others incline to the reign of Jeroboam I.; Moore (*Enc. Bibl.* col. 1090) and others to that of Jeroboam II. The northern origin of the poem is universally admitted, and indeed is very obvious.

last come to an end. Asa's efforts must have so far strengthened the latter as to render the house of 'Omri willing to enter an alliance. Had it been otherwise, so ambitious a dynasty, increasing in wealth and political influence, would hardly have consented to a relation in which there was probably more equality between the contracting parties than modern historians have perceived. 'Athaliah, the daughter of Aḥab, was married to Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat;[1] and Jehoshaphat assisted both Aḥab at Ramoth-Gilead and Aḥab's son, Jehoram, against Moab.[2] It is true that on each of these occasions the king of Israel made the proposal, and that Jehoshaphat unreservedly complied. The terms in which he did so are, however, no stronger than the forms of Oriental politeness demand from an ally. As leader of the smaller force Jehoshaphat took, of course, the second place in the expeditions. But when Aḥab's second successor, Aḥaziah, offered to share in the voyage down the Red Sea, Jehoshaphat was able to refuse him; and even on the campaigns against Aram and Moab he is said—by, be it observed, records which are not Judæan, but Israelite—to have shown a firm and independent temper. Before the battle of Ramoth-Gilead it was he who proposed to consult a prophet of Jahweh, and it was by his repeated urgency that the true prophet was at last found. On the Moabite campaign he showed a similar insistence, and this time the prophet, who was Elisha, consented to give an answer only for his sake. These things testify to religious insight and force of character. A Judæan record adds that Jehoshaphat completed the removal of the immoral elements in Judah's worship

[1] 2 Kings viii. 18. [2] 1 Kings xxii.; 2 Kings iii. 4 ff.

which Asa had begun.[1] He also maintained the supremacy of Judah over Edom, and used it not only for the land-trade which Edom commanded, but in order to launch a ship on the Red Sea.[2]

and of his Government.

We may take the high qualities of Jehoshaphat as indicative of the morale of Judah and Jerusalem at this time. Whatever lower elements remained, the City possessed an amount of piety and energy which were preparing for her future. The Chronicler[3] indeed supplies an account of Jehoshaphat's reign according to which Jerusalem must already have become a place of great magnificence. His story has sometimes been regarded as an entire fabrication, both because of the number of soldiers described as waiting on the king[4] in Jerusalem—one million one hundred and sixty thousand in all—and because the organisation attributed to Jehoshaphat has some features characteristic of the Jewish constitution after the Exile.[5] Yet there is evidence that the Chronicler has employed older sources;[6] it is hardly possible that the personal names he cites are inventions; and there is no sufficient motive to adduce for his assigning to Jehoshaphat so thorough an organisation of religion and justice if that monarch had not achieved some results of the kind. Written law was certainly in existence, and those who attribute to this or

[1] 1 Kings xxii. 46.

[2] *Ibid.* 47 ff. The text reconstructed after the LXX. and the Hebrew consonants reads thus: *And there was no king in Edom; the deputy of king Jehoshaphat made a ship of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold, but it went not, for the ship was broken in Ezion-Geber.* So Stade and others.

[3] 2 Chron. xvii.-xx.

[4] *Besides those whom the king put in the fenced cities* (*Id.* xvii. 13-19).

[5] Wellhausen, *Proleg.* 2nd ed. 198 f. See above, vol. i. 379 *n.* 6; 387 f.

[6] xvii. 7-9 and xix. 4-11 are parallel and independent accounts of the establishment of the Law.

a previous period the Book of the Covenant[1] naturally see in it the code which Jehoshaphat is said to have promulgated and organised. Whether this was so or not, we cannot be wrong in believing that under Jehoshaphat life and religion in Judah were inspired and regulated as they had not been since the days of Solomon. But every such achievement, however small, and even if followed as this was by a time of reaction, must have heightened the position of the City in the eyes of all Israel, and trained the more serious classes of her population in those ideals and habits which fitted her for her future career.

5 and 6. Jehoram and Ahaziah: *c.* 850–842

But the course of the purer faith was not yet clear. Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, was married to 'Athaliah, a daughter of Ahab, and introduced to Judah the idolatry favoured by his wife's family.[2] The strange gods did not help him. First Edom revolted, then Judah was invaded by Philistines and Arabs.[3] Libnah fell away,[4] the king lost to the invaders his treasure, his wives and his sons save one,[5] and finally himself succumbed to an incurable disease.[6] These fatalities must have strengthened the party of the purer religion, and the impression would be confirmed when, after reigning a year, Ahaziah, the next king,

A Reaction.

[1] See above, p. 95.

[2] It may have been in consequence of opposition to this that he found it necessary to slay all his brothers and other princes of Judah. 2 Chron. xxi. 1-7. In verse 4 for Israel read Judah.

[3] 2 Kings viii. 20 ff.; 2 Chron. xxi. 8 ff., 16 f. [4] 2 Kings viii. 22.

[5] 2 Chron. xxi. 17. 2 Kings x. 13 ff. describes the brethren of Ahaziah as slain by Jehu. [6] 2 Chron. xxi. 18 f.

was slain along with Jehoram of Israel by Jehu, the fanatic destroyer of the worship of Baal.[1]

7. 'ATHALIAH: *c.* 842-836

The fuller Records.

In the Book of Kings we now encounter a series of more detailed narratives of the history of Judah, and as their stage is Jerusalem we recover that close and vivid view of the City which we have lost since the days of Solomon, but which henceforth is visible at intervals for some centuries. These records, which are fragmentary,[2] may be supplemented from the narrative of the Chronicler, who drew from the same sources. The Chronicler has greatly altered the story in harmony with the conditions of his own time, but he has preserved some original data omitted by the compiler of Kings.[3]

Perplexing Character of 'Athaliah's Usurpation,

Our increased materials commence by presenting us with the most perplexing event in the history of the dynasty of David. We encounter an apparent paradox. At the very time that the revolution in favour of the religion of Jahweh succeeds in Northern Israel, and the house of Aḥab is extinguished by it, in Judah, on the contrary, we see a daughter of Aḥab seize the throne, slaughter (as she supposes) all the seed of David, and reign securely for a period of six years. How was this possible? How could Judah tolerate so long the one interregnum from

[1] 2 Kings ix. 27.

[2] Observe, for instance, in the narrative of the revolt against 'Athaliah, 2 Kings xi., how abruptly Jehoiada' is introduced, as if he had been already mentioned. Plainly the compiler is here employing only part of the documents at his disposal; see next note.

[3] *E.g.* the Chronicler in 2 Chron. xxiii. has substituted for the foreign guard, by whom, according to Kings, Jehoiada' effected the revolution against 'Athaliah, the priests and Levites; but he adds in its proper place what the editor of Kings has omitted of the original data, viz. who Jehoiada' was: *Id.* xxii. 11.

which her dynasty suffered? Recent historians have called the fact a mystery, but we find at least partial explanations of it in three features of the revolt which overthrew 'Athaliah, and which is described in detail by the sources.

In that revolt a decisive part was played by a body of foreign troops, called the Carians,[1] whose presence was natural at the court of virtually a Phœnician princess, and by whose aid doubtless she had achieved her usurpation. Secondly, it is clear that during her reign 'Athaliah, whose name, be it remembered, implies a certain recognition of Jahweh,[2] had left untouched His worship in the Temple. This may explain the temporary acquiescence of His adherents in the new régime. But, thirdly, the queen had probably on her side a strong native party. The policy of her house made for increased culture among their peoples. It not only favoured commerce, but in opposition to the conservative elements of Hebrew society, as represented by the Rechabites, emphasised (in accordance with the characteristic Phœnician polity) the City as the chief factor in the national life. There were sufficient temptations to form a strong Athalian party in Jerusalem. One of the most remarkable features of the subsequent history is the ease with which Jerusalem produced factions in favour of foreign influences. These not only meant a wider and a freer life,

and its Explanation—the Foreign Elements in the City,

[1] Kari, 2 Kings xi. 4. In the consonantal text of 2 Samuel xx. 23 the same name is used for David's bodyguard, but is corrected by the Massoretes to Kerethi. It has been proposed by some modern scholars to make the same correction in 2 Kings xi. 4, but it is more probable that here it is really Carians who are meant: 'a famous mercenary people in antiquity' whom 'it would not surprise us to find at Jerusalem in the days of 'Athaliah (G. F. Moore, *Enc. Bibl.*).

[2] 'Athalyahu, 2 Kings viii. 26, etc.

but were especially favourable to the enhancement of the City at the expense of the country. Just as a strong Greek faction existed in Jerusalem in Maccabæan times, and was enthusiastic for Greek fashions which led to the embellishment of the City and the exhilaration of her life; so it is natural that among the Jews of 'Athaliah's time there should be a Canaanite or Phœnician faction inspired by similar motives. The story of the revolution indicates that Jehoiada' feared opposition from the City, and relied upon *the people of the land*.

and the strong personality of the Queen.

But above all there was the personality of the queen herself. 'Athaliah was the only woman who ever reigned in Jerusalem till the accession of the widow of Alexander Jannæus in the first century before Christ. It is noteworthy that the Phœnician race produced about this time several strong women: Jezebel, 'Athaliah, Dido. The attractions of the culture and the worship, which she represented, the support she derived from foreign troops, and the security which she temporarily enjoyed from rebellion through her tolerance of the native religion, could not have existed in so effective a combination without her own strong capacity for organising. In themselves, therefore, her usurpation and reign are perfectly explicable. The one mystery is why Jehu, in alliance as he was with movements like that of the Rechabites, which had a strong hold on Judah, did not interfere with her. Probably he was too much engrossed by the attacks of the Arameans.

In the revolution against 'Athaliah, we have the first of those many outbreaks, mixed of priests, soldiers and people, which have the Temple courts for their stage,

and so often recur in the history of Jerusalem. The revolt was carefully arranged, but the disorder of the text which describes it[1] disables us from following the exact details. The main features, however, are clear. The author of the movement was Jehoiada' the priest, who held hid in the Temple the six-year-old Joash, saved by the wife of Jehoiada' from the massacre of the rest of Ahaziah's children. The priest's plan was to bring forward in the Temple this sole survivor of David's house, to have him crowned King, and then to put 'Athaliah to death. The time he chose for this was the Sabbath, and the instruments the soldiery: the Carians and other guards, who kept both the Palace and the Temple. He secured their Centurions, and arranged with these the details of action. Here it is that obscurity falls on the story, the text hovering between a statement of the usual routine of the guard and directions for their procedure at the crisis. Dr. Wellhausen elides verse 6 as a gloss, and explains the rest as follows. He infers that on week-days two divisions of the guard were at the Palace and one in the Temple; but that on the Sabbath two were in the Temple and one at the Palace. Jehoiada' planned to bring out Joash on the Sabbath at that hour, at which the two divisions who had *come out* from their quarters in the Palace were relieving at the Temple the one about to *go in*, and indeed verse 9 says that the Centurions brought to Jehoiada' for the crisis *each his men, those coming in on the Sabbath with those going out on the Sabbath.* This implies that the Palace, where 'Athaliah lived, was for the time divested of the whole guard. The

The Revolt against her: its Plan.

[1] 2 Kings xi. 4 ff.

explanation is at first sight plausible and has been accepted by recent writers. But it is hardly credible that in the ordinary routine of the guard all the force should thus be periodically withdrawn from the Palace, which, it must be remembered, was in those days still the principal object of their duty. And although the text is difficult, it seems to imply, in verse 7, that Jehoiada' directed only two of the bands—defined *as all who come out on Sabbath and keep the watch of the house of Jahweh for the king*—to surround the young king (verse 8). The remaining third has already been assigned by verse 5 to guard the Palace.[1] It is true that verse 9 states that the Centurions brought to Jehoiada' both the men who turned into quarters on the Sabbath and the men who turned out. But, as we see from the Septuagint, the text of this verse is uncertain. In our ignorance of the custom of the guard as well as of the stations assigned to them[2] we must leave the matter undecided.

and Achievement.

In the story of how the conspirators achieved their end Dr. Stade has seen the fusion of two differing accounts,[3] one of which, 4-12, 18*b*-20, reads the event as wholly political, achieved by Jehoiada' and the royal guards; while the second, 13-18*a*, gives it a religious character, brings into it *the people of the land*, and adds 'Athaliah's dramatic appearance in the Temple, which the first ignores. This analysis has been accepted by most recent writers,[4] but it seems to me very doubtful. To us it is easy to separate the political from the religious, but what writer of those times would think of doing so? Surely not one who, on Dr. Stade's own showing, has

[1] So the LXX. [2] See below. [3] *Z.A.T.W.* v. 279 ff.
[4] *E.g.* Kittel, Benzinger and Skinner.

described the chief priest as the prime conspirator. Why, again, was the Sabbath chosen for the revolt, if not with regard to religion and the people?[1] Besides, the supposed second narrative testifies in verse 15 to the soldiers' share in the transaction, and the first, in verse 19, to the association of the people of the land with the priests and the military.[2] There remain the two statements of 'Athaliah's death, in 16 and 20; but these agree as to where and how this took place; and it would be very arbitrary to suppose that the annalist, not distinguished for his style, could not have thus repeated himself. The story may therefore be regarded as a unity, and the conspiracy as one which was—what such a conspiracy in favour of the house of David against 'Athaliah could not but be—at once political and religious. The movement started with the priest, and naturally he took care to arrange for the support of the soldiers; but he was evidently sure of the people of the land, and probably he chose the Sabbath for his action in order to secure their presence in large numbers. In verse 20 it is said that *the people of the land rejoiced, and the City*—observe how it is distinguished from them—*was quiet.* We see, therefore, that it was against the mixed population of Jerusalem, favourable (for reasons given above) to 'Athaliah and her worship, that Jehoiada' took his precautions. These were successful; the City did not rise. The opposition between the City and the Country at so early a stage of the history is exceedingly interesting.

As to the topographical details of the narrative, we

[1] Except on what we have shown above to be the unlikely assumption that *all* the guard was on that day assembled at one time in the Temple.

[2] The hypothesis of a double account takes these clauses to be harmonising insertions.

only learn that the passage of the king between the Temple and the Palace was made by a gate called the *Gate of the Foot-Guards*.[1] There was probably also a horse-gate, whose name may be disguised in the *Gate of Sûr*;[2] but it was not necessarily the same as *the entry of the horses* through which 'Athaliah sought to escape. This is the earliest proof we have found of horses being established in Jerusalem.[3]

Topographical.

8. Joash: *c.* 836-798

The story of the Temple revolt is succeeded by one of its administration and repair. The succession of records, which have the Temple for their scene or subject, raises a question which will be more conveniently answered after we have examined this new addition to them.

Joash was brought up by Jehoiada' the priest, and, at least so long as the latter survived, the king remained loyal to the purer religion.[4] The sanctuary of Baal was destroyed,[5] and the only qualification which the Deuteronomic editor makes in his praise of the new régime is the one usual with him at this date: *the high places were not removed*, or, in other words, the worship of Jahweh was not yet confined to the Temple.[6] But the growing importance of the latter, its increasing command of the popular regard

Repair and Administration of the Temple.

[1] שַׁעַר הָרָצִים: verse 19.

[2] Verse 6: שַׁעַר סוּר, for which the LXX. gives *πύλη τῶν ὁδῶν*, and 2 Chron. xxiii. 5 שַׁעַר הַיְסוֹד, *gate of the foundation*. For סוּר, סוּם has been suggested. But verse 6 appears to be an intrusion.

[3] See vol. i. 324 ff. and vol. ii. 56 f.

[4] 2 Kings xii. 2; the Hebrew text is ambiguous; the LXX., *all the days in which Jehoiada' the priest instructed him*, is more explicit in its limitation.

[5] 2 Kings xi. 18.

[6] 2 Kings xii. 1-4.

and consequently of the people's contributions, is well illustrated by the story just alluded to. By this time Solomon's buildings were at least a century old, and dilapidated.[1] Orders were given by the young king to the priests to make the necessary repairs from their revenues. Besides offerings in kind, these revenues included three classes of payment in the money of the period, which was, of course, not coined money but weights of metal attested by the king's stamp.[2] There were, first, assessments of individuals for religious purposes; second, freewill offerings; and third, *sin* and *guilt moneys*—quit-moneys, which probably covered omissions in ritual as well as moral faults.[3] Joash ordered that the first two of these classes of revenue should be devoted to the repairs;[4] and directed the priests to see to this individually — *each from his own transactions, takings* or *possessions* (? the word occurs only here and is uncertain[5]). Such a direction implies at least the

[1] 2 Chron. xxiv. 7 imputes the dilapidations to *'Athaliah the malefactor and her sons* (LXX. ? *priests*).

[2] 2 Sam. xiv. 26. On the whole subject see above, Bk. II. ch. vii.

[3] The atonement for these in the Levitical legislation was by sacrifices. In the above list nothing is said of payments to the priests for their delivery of the Torôth; cf. Micah iii. 11.

[4] 2 Kings xii. 5 (Engl. 4) must be amended to read thus: *And Joash said to the priests, All the money of the hallowed things that is brought into the house of Jahweh: the money that every man is rated at* (read with LXX. כֶּסֶף, and omit the next clause, כֶּסֶף נַפְשׁוֹת עֶרְכּוֹ as a gloss referring to Lev. xxvii. 2 ff.) *and all the money which comes into any man's heart to bring into the house of Jahweh.*

[5] מֵאֵת מַכָּרוֹ (verse 6 = Eng. 5). Following the Targum, the Eng. versions render this *from his acquaintance,* taking the word מַכָּר from the root נכר. But the word may be as naturally derived from מכר, *to exchange, give over* or *sell,* and is so taken by the LXX., ἀπὸ τῆς πράσεως αὐτοῦ. Cf. the Assyrian makkeru (the same form as the Hebrew, with the

beginnings of those individual and hereditary rights in the Temple revenues which we know to have existed in other sanctuaries of the time.[1]

But the arrangement failed. By the twenty-third year of the king the priests had not repaired the dilapidations.

Re-arrangement by Joash.

Joash therefore arranged, with their consent, that they should resign their income from the two sources above-mentioned and give it to others to do the work. Jehoiada' set a box with a hole in the lid on the right of the entrance to the Temple,[2] and in it the priests of the threshold put *all the money* that came into the Temple. At intervals, when the box was full, the king's scribe came up from the Palace, weighed the money, and gave it to those in charge of the Temple business, who paid it out to the workmen in wages and for the purchase of materials. The money was confined to repairing the dilapidations; none of it was used to provide vessels or ornaments for the House.[3] The priests were allowed to retain the sin and guilt moneys.

doubled middle radical) rendered by Delitzsch (*Assyr. Handwörterbuch*) 'property,' 'possessions.' It is not improbable that the Hebrew had the same general sense; yet it may rather mean *transactions*. *Enc. Bibl.* col. 3843 suggests 'customers.'

[1] For Babylonia compare Johns, *Babyl. and Assyr. Laws, Contracts and Letters* (1904), p. 215; and see above, Bk. II. chap. vii.

[2] The Hebrew of 2 Kings xii. 10 (Eng. 9) states that the box was set *beside the altar on the right as a man comes into the house of Jahweh*. But the altar lay in the middle of the court; and 2 Chron. xxiv. 8, omitting mention of it, says only that they set the box *outside the Temple gate*. . . . Stade, following LXX. A, reads for הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, הַמַּצֵּבָה, *the massebah*; Klostermann אֵצֶל הַמְּזוּזָה חִיצוֹנִית, *beside the right doorpost*. If Robertson Smith's argument be admitted, that the pillars, Yakîn and Boaz, were originally altars (*Rel. of the Semites*, Add. Note *L*), this might be the solution. See above, p. 64 *n.* 1.

[3] Verses 13 f. The Chronicler reports differently.

The story is instructive. The Temple is still a royal sanctuary, and the king has the disposal of its revenues, with the consent of the priests, whose interests are forming but not yet fully vested. The annalist does not conceal the negligence of the priests, as the Chronicler does, who confines to the Levites the blame of not carrying out the repairs. The superior honesty of the lay administrators is emphasised. With the king's hold upon the revenues we may take the fact mentioned further on, that when Ḥazael of Aram threatened Jerusalem with the forces which had swept across Northern Israel and taken Gath, Joash bought him off with the gifts which he and his predecessors had consecrated to the Temple, as well as with the treasures of the Temple and the Palace.[1] These last included, of course, the king's own accumulations of precious metals, partly deposited in the sanctuary for security. But if we may judge from the analogy of other ancient temples, they also comprised the Temple funds, and deposits by private persons. The sanctuaries of those days were banks, and as other monarchs, when they drew upon such stores, either afterwards replaced them or gave an equivalent in land, Joash would doubtless do the same. This is the third instance of the spoliation of the Temple to buy off an invader or to bribe an ally.[2]

Royal Powers over the Temple.

We can now discuss the question raised by these detailed narratives which have the Temple for their subject or for their scene. Are we to consider them as borrowed from a work which was exclusively a history of the Temple? Or do they belong to the general annals of Judah? The former

The Source of these Records.

[1] 2 Kings xii. 17, 18.

[2] 1 Kings xiv. 26; xv. 18.

hypothesis, first advanced by Dr. Wellhausen, is much favoured at present. Struck by the features which the story of Joash's repair of the Temple and that of Josiah's (chs. xxii., xxiii.) possess in common, Dr. Wellhausen[1] proposed to assign them to a pre-Deuteronomic history of the Temple, and to trace to the same source the narratives of the Temple revolt against 'Athaliah and of the rearrangement of the altars by Aḥaz;[2] as well as the account of the building of the Temple and the various records of its spoliation.[3] Yet in a work written in the interests of the Temple we should hardly have expected to find the subordination of the priests to the king and their gross negligence so explicitly set forth, as we have seen them to be, in a section of the supposed book which deals with the Temple only; while in others of the alleged extracts the events treated—the Temple building, the crowning of Joash, and the murder of 'Athaliah, the finding of the law-book, and the successive borrowings from the Temple treasures—have not to do with the Temple alone, but are of general political interest.[4] We may therefore consider as insufficient the argument for the existence of a special history of the Temple, and as more probable the hypothesis that these detailed narratives were drawn by the editor of the Book of Kings from the national annals of Judah.

But if that be so, we have to infer the rapid growth of the importance of Solomon's Temple. Of this growth the records provide us with the most natural explanations.

[1] 4th ed. of Bleek's *Einleitung*.

[2] 2 Kings xi., xvi.

[3] So also Kittel, Cornill, Benzinger.

[4] Since the above was first written in the *Expositor*, April 1905, I find that Professor Skinner also raises the second of these objections to Wellhausen's theory, *Century Bible*, *Kings*, p. 343.

We see from them that the prominence of the Temple is not the exaggeration of a priestly narrator, but the solid result of causes which may be illustrated from the history of other sanctuaries in the Semitic world. For, first, the Temple in Jerusalem was the king's; strongly situated in the closest proximity to the palace and the garrison, which rendered it a natural centre for political movements. The stability of the Davidic dynasty ensured for the priesthood a sense of security and an opportunity to form traditions and rights which cannot have been enjoyed to the same degree by the priests of the sanctuaries in Northern Israel. But, secondly, the Temple, besides being the royal sanctuary, had won considerable command of the national life outside Jerusalem. *The people of the land* came up to it, and the priests could count on their adherence.[1] Thirdly, the Temple was growing in material wealth. Its treasures were accumulating, and when these were taken from it to meet some national emergency, they seem to have been quickly restored. To other Temples, kings repaid their forced loans by gifts of lands or new treasure, and that this happened also in the case of the Judæan Temple appears from the fact that there were always funds in it when they were required. But, above even these royal and popular opportunities, with all the training and influence in affairs which they provided, the Temple priesthood enjoyed the inspiration and the credit of the purer religion of which they were the guardians. Everything points to the fact that in politics, as in religion, they played a part similar to that of the prophets of Northern Israel. It is certainly to

Growing Influence of Temple and Priests.

[1] See above on the revolt against 'Athaliah, pp. 104 f.

them that we owe the legal code and most of the other literature of the period.[1]

Preparations for the Deuteronomic Centralisation.

We see then that the Deuteronomic exaltation of Jerusalem was no sudden or artificial achievement, but the result of a slow growth which took centuries for its consummation, and was due to a multitude of processes, political and religious, of which indeed we have only seen the beginnings.

The rest of the Reign of Joash.

The Chronicler states that after Jehoiada' died Joash, enticed by the princes of Judah, forsook the house of Jahweh and worshipped Asherim and idols.[2] Prophets were raised up to testify against him, and one of these he ordered to be stoned in the Temple. With this crime the Chronicler connects the invasion of Ḥazael, emphasising the divine justice of the penalty by recording that Ḥazael's army was a small one compared with the great host of Judah,[3] and that it destroyed the princes of the people.[4] The Chronicler adds that the same crime caused a conspiracy against Joash, who, overcome by disease, was slain on his bed. The Hebrew text of Kings says that the conspirators *smote* Joash *in the house of Millo that goes down to Silla.* As it stands this gives little sense, and the versions testify to so early a corruption of the text that it is perhaps vain to attempt to restore it.[5]

[1] See above, pp. 95, 98 f.

[2] 2 Chron. xxiv. 15 ff.

[3] Cf. Deuteronomy xxxii. 30.

[4] The Chronicler cannot have invented the story (so also Benzinger).

[5] The readiest emendation is suggested by Lucian's version: *at the house of Millo which is on the descent* (of Silla). Silla may be taken as *a street* or *way* (Thenius = מְסִלָּה); Assyr. sul(l)u. This would suit the southern location for Millo (above, pp. 41, 71). Other Greek versions found no word for *the descent*, and read Silla with an initial 'Ayin for Samekh, or even as Galaad; cf. Winckler, *Gesch.* i. 178, who places the assassination in Gilead; this is improbable.

9. Amaziah: *c.* 797-789 or 779

The murdered king was succeeded by his son, Amaziah: proof that the assassins had been provoked not by hatred to the dynasty, but by what they regarded as their victim's personal fault, whether in the surrender to Ḥazael or in the murder of Zechariah. Amaziah, indeed, appears to have owed his elevation to the assassins, for we read that *as soon as* (which means *not until*) *the kingdom was firmly in his grasp he slew his servants which had slain the king his father.*[2] It is noteworthy not only that a usurping faction should thus find the house of David indispensable to the kingdom, but that the dynasty should so bravely show its independence of every faction and its ability to punish even more or less justifiable assaults upon its representatives.

Stability of the Davidic Dynasty.

This endurance of the dynasty is not the only relief to the depressing tales of intrigue, tumult and bloodshed, of which the history of Jerusalem at this period so largely consists. The execution of the murderers of Joash was signalised by an innovation, which betrays the existence of impulses—to whatever source they may be assigned—surely making for a higher morality. The editor records that Amaziah did not also slay the children of the murderers, and recognises in this his obedience to the Deuteronomic law: *the fathers shall not be put to death for the children nor the children for the fathers, every man shall be put to death for his own sin.*[3] The institution

An instance of Ethical Progress.

[1] 2 Kings xiv. 1 ff. [2] *Id.* 5. [3] 2 Kings xiv. 6 f.; Deut. xxiv. 16.

of such a law is of itself proof that once Israel had shared the opposite feeling of the time, that in the guilt of an individual all the members of his family were involved.[1] Early society regarded the family as a moral unit. In the absence of a law and of a public opinion to the contrary, the passion of private revenge, to which ancient jurisprudence largely left the punishment for murder, did not hesitate to work itself out upon the family of the criminal, as it still does among the Bedouin. And it is easy to see how even public justice could go to that extreme under the prevailing idea of the moral solidarity of the family. In Israel there were current during our period traditions of how the children of criminals had, at certain crises, been put to death for their fathers' crimes by the supreme authority;[2] and in the Book of the Covenant, the only code of the period, there was no law to the contrary. Deuteronomy is the earliest code which contains such a law. We may be sure, too, that the editor of the Book of Kings did not invent the story of Amaziah's sparing of the murderers' children. He must have found it in the sources from which he drew his materials; and he hails it, as he does every other approximation to the Deuteronomic standards. But if the annals of Judah mentioned the fact, this can only have been because it was recognised as something unusual; and that it was unusual is proved by Joshua's execution of the family of Achan, by David's con-

[1] It is not certain whether this feeling was universal in antiquity. In the Code of Hammurabi there is no trace of the extension of the capital penalty from a criminal to his children; but these could be sold into slavery for their father's debts: § 117.

[2] Josh. vii. 24 ff.; 2 Sam. xxi. 1 ff.; 2 Kings ix. 26.

viction that he must surrender Saul's sons to the vengeance of the Gibeonites, and by the slaughter of Naboth's sons along with their father.[1] We may, therefore, add this leniency on the part of Amaziah to the symptoms which the troubled period reveals of the presence of influences gradually elevating the social ethics of Judah. The particular innovation was not, as we have seen, inspired by the Book of the Covenant. Whence, then, did it spring? From the king's own resolution, or from his religious advisers, or from such public discontent with the cruelty of the ancient custom as would probably arise in the generally improved ethics of the community? We cannot tell. But we may be reasonably sure that thus gradually, and even sporadically, many ameliorations of ancient custom began in Israel, which were finally articulated and enforced in such definite codes as form our Book of Deuteronomy. The Spirit of the God of Israel, working on individuals or on the general conscience of the community, modified or annulled, one by one, the harsher and baser elements of that consuetudinary law, which Israel had inherited as a member of the Semitic race. A code like the Book of Deuteronomy was not brought forth at a stroke, but was the expression of the gradual results of the age-long working of the Spirit of the Living God in the hearts of His people.

The vigour and the originality which this episode evinces were next illustrated by Amaziah in defeating the Edomites. The scene was the *Ravine of Salt*, probably the present Wâdy el-Milḥ, in the south of Judah.[2]

[1] See previous note.

[2] 2 Kings xiv. 7: גי or גיא does not suit the valley of the 'Arabah, which Benzinger takes as the battlefield. He takes *the Sela'* as Petra.

The Sela', or *Rock*, which Amaziah took and called *Yokthĕēl*, can hardly have been the later Nabatean capital, Petra; which is probably not mentioned in the Old Testament.[1] It was surely no chief town of Edom that fell to Amaziah, or else the subjection of the Edomites to Judah would have been mentioned, but rather some citadel guarding the road from Judah to the Red Sea. Amaziah had sought to open this road, and his success is proved by the fact that its goal, Elath, was held and fortified by his successor.[2]

Opening of the Road to the Red Sea.

Elated by this victory, Amaziah sent a wanton challenge to Joash of Israel. Their armies met at Beth-Shemesh. If this was the Beth-Shemesh at the mouth of one of the passes from the Philistine country towards Jerusalem, Israel's choice of such a point of attack on Judah may be explained either by an alliance between them and the Philistines or by the same tactics which led many of the Seleucid generals to approach Jerusalem from the Shephelah rather than upon a more direct road from the north. But there may have been another place of the same name on the northern frontier of Judah. In any case, after defeating Amaziah, Joash did deliver his attack on Jerusalem from the north—the first of many recorded assaults on that side of the City where alone the fortifications are not surrounded by deep ravines—*and brake down four hundred cubits of the wall from the gate of Ephraim to the corner-gate*, probably at the north-western corner of the City, and despoiled the Temple and the Palace.[3]

Israel's victory at Beth-Shemesh and capture of Jerusalem.

[1] As Buhl has shown, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 35 ff. [2] 2 Kings xiv. 22.
[3] 2 Kings xiv. 8-14, perhaps from an Israelite document.

It was perhaps in consequence of this defeat that the people of Jerusalem conspired against Amaziah.[1] He fled to Lakîsh, but they sent after him and slew him. Once again the dynasty of David survived the fall of its chief. Whatever the plans of the Jerusalem conspirators had been, *all the people of Judah took 'Azariah and made him king in room of his father Amaziah.* In these events it is, perhaps, unnecessary to see another instance of the opposition we perceived in 'Athaliah's time between the citizens of the capital and the country population. But we may take the opportunity to recall the different interests and parties which we have found moving in the history of Judah at this time. These are the dynasty, the priesthood, the princes or nobles of Judah, the populace of Jerusalem, the people of the land, and, for a time, the foreign, heathen elements.

Conspiracy against Amaziah. His death.

Different Parties in Judah.

10. 'Uzziah or 'Azariah: 789 or 779-740

With the moral and political factors in her life which have been noted in this chapter, Jerusalem entered the long and prosperous reign of 'Uzziah.

The editor of the Books of Kings records from his sources but two events in this reign, the restoration of the Red Sea port of Elath to Judah, to which we have already referred, and the king's leprosy. When this stroke befell 'Uzziah *he lived in his own house relieved* of the duties of governing, *and Jotham the king's son judged the people of the*

The King's Leprosy and Retirement.

[1] 2 Kings xiv. 19 ff., probably from the Judæan annals; but another writer (*id.* 17) says Amaziah lived fifteen years after the death of Joash of Israel.

land.[1] At what date this happened we are not told. It has been supposed that the variant numbers assigned to Jotham's reign in 2 Kings xv. 30 and 33 refer—the *sixteen* years to Jotham's regency during his father's life, and the *twenty* to that *plus* the years of his reign after his father's death. In this case 'Uzziah resigned the government about 755, for Jotham died in 735. But it is equally probable that 'Uzziah did not resign till 750.

The Chronicler's Account of his Reign.

On the other hand, the Chronicler's account of the reign is very full.[2] Apart from his explanation of 'Uzziah's leprosy, which is obviously due to the influence of the Levitical system in his own time, and such details as the size of the Judæan army (and perhaps the engines ascribed to 'Uzziah), the account is evidently drawn from earlier sources, and is confirmed by what the prophets tell us of the state of Judah at the end of 'Uzziah's reign. According to the Chronicler, then, 'Uzziah made expeditions against the Philistines,[3] the Arabs in Gûr or Gerar,[4]

[1] 2 Kings xv. 5. The Hebrew text has בְּבֵית הַחָפְשִׁית, which some of the Versions (ancient and modern) render *a separate house*, others *a house of freedom* (*i.e.* instead of being shut up with other lepers). Klostermann emends בְּבֵיתוֹ חָפְשִׁית, *in his own house, free* or *unmolested*. But if we accept this reading, it is most natural, both because of the clause which follows (*and Jotham the king's son was over the palace, judging the people of the land*) and because of other uses of חָפְשִׁי, to take it as meaning *free from the duties of government*; cf. the use of חָפְשִׁי in Mishnic Hebrew, *free* as a corpse is from the obligations of the law, or as Saul was by his death from the kingly office.

[2] 2 Chron. xxvi.

[3] Verse 6. As the building of cities by 'Uzziah in Philistine territory is questionable, it has been proposed to read וְיַבְנֵה עִיר בְּאַשְׁדּוֹד, *now Jabneh is a city in Ashdod*; and to take וּבַפְּלִשְׁתִּים as a superfluous gloss.

[4] Verse 7. For בעל והמעונים read תַּעַל־הַמְּעוֹנִים. Winckler (*Gesch.* i. 46)

and the Me'ūnîm—all of them tribes upon the avenues of Judah's commerce with the south. In the southern desert the king built towers, the best means (as also the Romans and the Turks have known) of keeping the nomads in subjection and the desert roads open.[1] *And he hewed many cisterns, for he had much cattle in the Shephelah and the Mishōr* or *Plain*, most probably the level land at the foot of the Shephelah hills, *and vinedressers in the mountains and the garden-land, for he was a lover of husbandry.*[2]

'Uzziah's Fortification of Jerusalem.

In Jerusalem, according to the Chronicler, 'Uzziah made some simple additions to the walls. *He built towers in Jerusalem over the Gate of the Corner*, that is on the extreme north-east, *and over the Gate of the Gai*,[3] on the south of the City,

then proposes to read גוּר as the same name as Gari in the Tell el-Amarna Letters (Lond. 64, l. 23), which he takes as equivalent to Edom. גּוּר, however, may be a corruption of גֵּרַר, Gerar, which is read by the Targum: cf. 2 Chronicles xiv. 13. For בגור-בעל Kittel proposes בְּטַגּוּר-בַּעַל, which is found in Cod. Amiatinus of the Vulgate: *in Turbaal.*

[1] Cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I. *passim.*

[2] 2 Chron. xxvi. 10. This sentence seems compounded from more than one source, or at least to have had additions made to it, and is therefore as it stands ambiguous. If the Hebrew text be retained, its accents must be discarded, and אברים, without a conjunction, taken with the preceding *and in the Shephelah and on the Plain.* But if with the LXX. we omit אברים as well as the conjunction before בשפלה, then the verse will run as given above. The verse is interesting as giving the different kinds of land of which Judah was composed. The Mīshōr cannot be, as Ewald and Buhl assert (*Geog. des Alten Palästinas*, p. 104), the Moabite Mīshōr or Plateau, for that lay outside Uzziah's domains, but either part of the 'Arabah south of the Dead Sea or the level land at the foot of the Shephelah hills. The latter is most probable because of the conjunction of the Mīshōr with the Shephelah. But if this be so, we have another reason (besides those given in my *H. G. H. L.* p. 202) for confining the name Shephelah to the range of low hills west of the Judæan range, and holding it to have been distinct from the maritime Plain; this against Buhl, *loc. cit.*

[3] Vol. i. 176 ff., 215.

and upon the angles or *turnings* of the walls, *and made them strong*.[1] This is a notice credible both in itself and from the great increase in building which distinguished the king's reign.[2] It represents a development of the fortifications of Jerusalem which is well within the ascertained achievements of the age in military engineering, and which was probably forced upon the defenders of Jerusalem by their experience of the ease with which the Israelite army had made a long breach in the northern wall. From as early as the fourth millennium[3] Babylonian engineers built the walls of fortresses with a regular sequence of right angles, out and in, with heavy towers over the gates and at the corners, so that the besieged could command with their bows the foot of the walls and prevent these from being breached by the besiegers.[4] The Syrian and other fortresses attacked by the Assyrians in the ninth and eighth centuries are represented, almost without exception, as polygonal.[5] Very frequently the walls are double or even treble, and in general they are furnished with battlements, casemates and loopholes. But the main feature is the tower projecting from the wall and manned by archers, who shoot over its breast-work at the advancing foe.[6] Of the results of this long-developed science 'Uzziah's engineers are said to have employed the gate towers and the flanking towers at angles where the walls turned round the

[1] 2 Chron. xxvi. 9. The Hebrew has the singular, but the LXX. gives the more probable plural, angles.

[2] See below, pp. 122 f.

[3] See the plan of a fortress engraved on the lap of the statue of Gudea.

[4] *Die Festungsbau im Alten Orient*, by A. Billerbeck in *Der Alte Orient* series, 1900, Heft 4; pp. 11, etc., with plans.

[5] *Idem*, p. 14.

[6] So in nearly all Assyrian and Egyptian pictures of sieges.

City or bent with the natural line of rock. Probably this was all that was required on the walls of Jerusalem, which for the most part were planted on the edge of deep ravines high above the reach of breaching engines. But it is well to keep in mind also the series of buttresses, or forward towers, which Dr. Bliss uncovered upon the most ancient of the lines of wall traced by him across the mouth of the Tyropœon.[1] 'Uzziah's flanking towers fully served their purpose. Where before his reign the comparatively small forces of Northern Israel had made a long breach on the northern wall, the only breachable part of the defences, after his reign the engines of Assyria herself failed to effect an entrance. On all these grounds we may accept the Chronicler's report of 'Uzziah's fortification of his capital. We shall find this developed by the king's immediate successors.

Engines of War (?).

It is different, however, with the armament which the Chronicler declares 'Uzziah to have placed upon the walls. *And he made in Jerusalem engines, the invention of an engineer*, or *ingenious man, to be on the towers and the angles to shoot arrows and great stones.*[2] Benzinger thinks that the redundant expressions 'speak for the age of this notice; at the time of the Chronicler there were no more such marvels. It is true that nowhere else in the Old Testament are such engines mentioned. But since the Assyrians had them, they cannot have remained unknown to the Israelites.' This reasoning is doubtful both in its premises and conclusion. Billerbeck states that 'the ancient artillery,' with its engines for

[1] See above, vol. i. 220 ff., and the frontispiece to Bliss, *Excav. at Jerus.*, showing the restoration of the wall.

[2] 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

shooting arrows and throwing stones, first appears in the fifth century before Christ.[1] Nor can I find any such engines pictured on the Assyrian or Egyptian pictures of battles or sieges in the eighth or previous centuries, and it is strange that if 'Uzziah had used engines the prophets who describe other novel constructions of the time should fail to speak of them. The next earliest notice of shooting instruments in Jewish writings is 1 Maccabees vi. 51.[2]

The Chronicler also ascribes to 'Uzziah the organisation and equipment of a huge army.[3] We may question the total number given, 307,500; but the number of heads of families who had to furnish the fighting men, 2600, is not improbable, and the Chronicler cannot have invented the names of the officials charged with the levy. 'Uzziah re-armed his host.

Size of the Army.

Those records of 'Uzziah's activity, in which we have seen no inherent improbability, are confirmed by the evidence of the Prophets at the close of that monarch's reign. As we should expect, there is a background of agriculture and pasture to the pictures of the national life presented by Amos and Isaiah.[4] But against that background rises, in a way novel in Israel's history, an extraordinary enterprise in building[5]—the instruments and material

Great Increase of Building under 'Uzziah.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 5.

[2] The קֶלַע of 2 Kings xxv. 1 and Ezek. iv. 2, etc., are towers manned by archers and pushed forward on wheels or rollers.

[3] 2 Chron. xxvi. 11-14.

[4] Amos ii. 13, iii. 12, iv. 9, v. 11, 16 f., vi. 12, vii. 1 ff., viii. 6. Cf. Isaiah i. 3, 8, iii. 14, v. 1-10, 17, vii. 23, ix. 3, etc.

[5] Amos iii. 15, v. 11, etc.; Hos. viii. 14; Isaiah ii. 15, ix. 10 (9).

of which are used familiarly as religious figures,[1] while one of the names, *'armōn*, hitherto limited to royal castles, is applied to private dwellings—with an increase of all manner of wealth and luxury.[2] But these imply a great development of trade; and of this and of the tempers it breeds the Prophets give us direct evidence. Amos describes an excessive zeal in buying and selling. Hosea calls Northern Israel a very *Canaan*, or trader.[3] Isaiah says *Judah is filled from the East, she strikes hands with the sons of strangers*,[4] and mentions ships of Tarshish and caravans.[5] The sins of trade: the covetousness which oppresses the poor and threatens the old religious festivals, false weights and lying are exposed and condemned.[6] Whether 'Uzziah throughout his long reign remained under that subjection to Northern Israel which was confirmed by Amaziah's defeat at Beth-shemesh, or gradually advanced to more equal relations with Jeroboam II., it is difficult to say. In either case the two kingdoms were at peace, and between them commanded the trade from Elath to the borders of Phœnicia and Damascus. So great a commerce was in the hands mainly of foreigners—Arabs according to Isaiah,[7] and doubtless also Arameans.[8] They must have brought into Judah many foreign products and inventions; also a familiarity with life and institutions in Assyria and Egypt. The armies of Asshur had been as far south as Damascus and were

and of Trade.

[1] Amos vii. 7 ff.; cf. Isaiah xxviii. 16, xxx. 13.
[2] Amos iii. 15, iv. 4 f., v. 11, vi. 4-8; Hos. xii. 8; Isaiah ii. 7, etc.
[3] xii. 7; cf. vii. 8, viii. 10. See vol. i. 369 f.
[4] ii. 6.
[5] ii. 16, xxx. 6.
[6] Amos ii. 6, iv. 1, viii. 4 ff.; Hos. xii. 7; Isaiah iii. 15, v. 8, 23, etc.
[7] ii. 6.
[8] *Enc. Bibl.*, 'Trade and Commerce,' § 51.

still moving in Northern Syria. Isaiah describes the aspect of their ranks; and through the other prophets there beats the sense of their irresistibleness.

The Effects on Jerusalem.

The effects of all this on Jerusalem may be easily conceived. The City must have regained much of the prosperity which she enjoyed under Solomon, and despite her political separation from Northern Israel may even have risen beyond that. As through the rest of her history before the Exile, we are without any data for estimating the number of her population, and with very few for determining the space covered by her buildings. But we have seen grounds for the assurance that by this time, or at the latest by Ḥezeḳiah's, the South-west Hill was within the City walls.[1] The passages quoted above from Isaiah imply a large increase of the foreign elements in her population. Many at least of these alien traders would be accommodated outside the walls: most probably in a suburb along the outer or second northern wall, which there is no reason to doubt ran from the Corner Gate near the present Jaffa Gate eastwards to the north end of the Temple enclosure. Within the walls the inhabitants would be more crowded than before, the buildings more numerous, compact and lofty. Isaiah, as we shall see in the next chapter, prophesies in presence of the characteristic tempers of a large city life. In the national wealth the Temple must have shared; its revenues would be rapidly increasing. Thus, in every direction, the material, political and moral forces, with which Jerusalem entered the long reign of 'Uzziah, were greatly developed before its close.

[1] Vol. i. 38, 177, 207, 218.

11. Jotham, Regent from 755 or 750; King 740-735

The only addition to the buildings of Jerusalem ascribed to Jotham by the Books of Kings is *the upper gate of the Temple*,[1] probably the same as Jeremiah's *upper gate of Benjamin*, and Ezekiel's *gate of the inner court towards the north*.[2] The Chronicler adds that Jotham *built much on the wall of The 'Ophel*.[3] The position of The 'Ophel is clearly determined by the data of Nehemiah and Josephus. It lay on the East Hill south of the Temple and above Gihon; and, as we have seen, was to the Chronicler and other writers the name which they prefer for Ṣion.[4] From an early time a wall ran up the eastern edge of the hill, and this wall Jotham now strengthened, probably in the same style as that of his father's additional fortifications.

Further Building.

12. Aḥaz: 735-720 (?)

The fortifications of Jerusalem strengthened by 'Uzziah and Jotham were speedily to be tested. The political calm in which Israel and Judah had lived for a number of years began to be disturbed soon after 745 by forces both from without and from within. In that year the Assyrian throne was ascended by a strong soldier who, under the title of Tiglath-Pileser III., revived a vigorous policy of conquest, which, however, owing to the numerous directions on which it had to be prosecuted, could not be steadily

The uncertain advance of Assyria.

[1] 2 Kings xv. 35.
[2] Jer. xx. 2; Ezek. viii. 3, ix. 2.
[3] 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.
[4] See above, vol. i. 152 ff.

maintained along any one of them. For the next fifteen years politics in Palestine swung upon the ebb and flow of Assyrian invasion. In Northern Israel this oscillation was aggravated after the close of Jeroboam's long reign by the overthrow of his dynasty and the succession of various short-lived usurpers. In 738 the second of these, Menaḥem, became, along with some of his neighbours, tributary to Tiglath-Pileser, then moving south on one of his Syrian campaigns. But for the next three years Tiglath-Pileser was occupied to the north of Assyria, and taking advantage of his absence, short-sighted factions in all the Syrian states dared to form a new league against him.

When Menaḥem died in 735, those in Israel who sympathised with this movement slew his son, and, raising their leader, Peḳaḥ, a Gileadite, to the throne, made alliance against Assyria with Rĕṣîn, or Raṣon, of Damascus. It seems to have been Jotham's refusal to join them which stirred the allies against him.[1] But Jotham died in 735, and left his son Aḥaz, or Jehoaḥaz, to face their invasion of Judah,[2] with its aim of displacing the king by a creature of their own.[3] Isaiah has himself described the panic which ensued in Jerusalem under this danger to the City and the dynasty of David. *Now it was told to the house of David that Aram was pitched in Ephraim, and his heart and the heart of his people quivered as the trees of the jungle quiver before the wind.*[4] Probably it was under this alarm that the superstitious king *made his son to pass through the fire;*[5] which can only mean a sacrifice by burning in

League of Aram and Israel against Judah,

[1] 2 Kings xv. 37.
[2] *Id.* xvi. 5.
[3] Isaiah vii. 6.
[4] Isaiah vii. 2.
[5] 2 Kings xvi. 3; LXX. reads *sons*, so 2 Chron. xxviii. 3.

order to propitiate the divine powers in some extreme danger. Isaiah nowhere alludes by word to this horror. But we may perhaps find the prophet's rebuke of so awful a sacrifice to despair in his taking with him to meet the king his own son, whom he also had dedicated, but to hope, by the symbolic name She'ar-yashûb, *a remnant shall return.* They met *at the end of the conduit of the Upper Pool on the highway by the Fuller's field.* It is the same spot from which in 701 the Assyrian Rab-shakeh addressed his challenge to the defenders of Jerusalem. It lay, therefore, outside the walls; note also the command to Isaiah *to go forth* to it. Beyond this we cannot tell certainly where it lay, but more probably off the mouth of the Tyropœon than to the north of the City.[1]

Ahaz, when Isaiah found him, was probably inspecting

[1] For the opposing arguments see vol. i. 105, 114 ff. On the one hand, it is reasonable to seek for the Fuller's field in the Kidron valley, where the only springs are found. Here the Upper Pool might be identified with the inner of the two pools of Siloam, and the conduit with the rock-cut channel leading directly to the Kidron gardens. We should then have the explanation of the existence of *the end* of a conduit outside the City walls, for in this case the conduit was for the purpose of irrigating the gardens. Or we may take the Upper Pool to have been the basin into which Gihon (the Virgin Fountain) issues, and the conduit that which Dr. Masterman discovered along the foot of Ophel. But, on the other hand, if the Upper Pool and its conduit were any part of the system of Shiloah, it is singular that this name is not given to them. Sir Charles Wilson thinks that 'the conduit of the Upper Pool must have been on the north of the City, because no general commanding an army would go down to the mouth of the Tyropœon valley to parley with the men on the wall, but would speak to them from some plateau on the north': this is not conclusive. He suggests that the Upper Pool was one which in the eleventh century existed under the name of 'the Lake of Legerius,' at the head of the Tyropœon valley, and that the conduit was one on the east hill by which water was led from the same locality to the Temple enclosure. In any case the Upper Pool can hardly have been, as many have thought, the Birket Mamilla.

the water supplies in order to prevent their use by the approaching invaders. Against these the fortifications of 'Uzziah and Jotham were found sufficient. Syria and Israel came up against Jerusalem, but were not able to breach or to storm it.[1] The invasion, however, meant losses to Judah in other directions. The Edomites recovered Elath from the Jews,[2] and the Philistines took several towns in the Shephelah.[3]

and its Results.

The waters of the Shiloaḥ are mentioned by Isaiah in another address during the reign of Aḥaz: *forasmuch as this people despises the waters of the Shiloaḥ which flow gently and . . . therefore the Lord will bring against them the waters of the River.*[4] As we saw in the study of the Waters of Jerusalem, the Shiloaḥ, which means *sent* or *conducted*, must refer to some part of the system of aqueducts by which the waters of Gihon were led to the mouth of the Tyropœon. If the famous tunnel which still carries them under Ophel to the Pool of Siloam was the work of the engineers of Ḥezeḳiah,[5] Isaiah must intend some other part of the system: perhaps the ancient channel traced by Dr. Masterman along the eastern foot of Ophel. In any case Isaiah takes the gentle and fertilising streams of the Shiloaḥ as symbolic of the spiritual influences of Judah's God, from which the people were turning impatiently to seek their salvation through submission and tribute to

The Shiloaḥ and the Euphrates.

[1] Isaiah vii. 1.

[2] 2 Kings xvi. 6, where with the LXX. read Edom for Aram.

[3] 2 Chron. xxviii. 18. The greater part of this chapter on Aḥaz is obviously a very late Midrash on the history of Judah; but the section, vs. 17-19, which is in a different style from, and disturbs the connection of, the rest, is, as Benzinger says, 'at least not improbable.'

[4] Isa. viii. 6; vol. i. 103 f.

[5] Vol. i. 93 ff., 102.

Assyria. For such was the fateful step on which Aḥaz was resolved, and it brings us into that new period of the City's history which is identified with Isaiah's name.

To raise his first tribute to Assyria, Aḥaz imitated certain of his predecessors and despoiled the Palace and Temple treasuries.[1] Tiglath-Pileser immediately rewarded him by invading the territories of his principal foes: the Philistines of Gaza, Northern Israel and Aram (734-732), who alone of the Palestine states formed a league against Assyria, all the others joining Aḥaz in his submission. They doubtless relied upon help from Egypt, but in vain. Tiglath-Pileser swept south as far as Gaza, which he captured and sacked. Either on his way there, or more probably on his return, he overran the northern frontier of Israel, Galilee and Gilead, and carried the inhabitants into captivity.[2] Only Samaria remained to Israel, and even there the discredited Peḳaḥ was slain by a conspiracy of his own people, whose leader, Hoshea', ascended the throne as a vassal of Assyria. In 732 Tiglath-Pileser took Damascus,[3] and thither Aḥaz re-

Evil fruits of the Assyrian policy of Aḥaz.

[1] 2 Kings xvi. 8. [2] Isa. ix. 1.

[3] The evidence of the Assyrian inscriptions is as follows:—(1) The Eponym Canon (see *C.O.T.* ii. 194 f.) records campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser III. to 'Pilista' in 734, and to Damascus in 733 and 732. 'Pilista' is either Philistia, or (to judge from the following) Philistia and the neighbouring countries (in this case a remarkable anticipation of the name Palestine). (2) According to his Nimrud Inscr. (British Museum, K. 3751; published by Rawlinson, *W.A.I.* ii. 67; transl. in *K.P.* sec. series, v. 120 ff.; see also *C.O.T.* 249) Tiglath-Pileser received tribute from (among others) the kings of 'Ammon, Moab, Edom, 'Jehoaḥaz of Judah,' Ashḳelon and Gaza. (3) His Annals (227 f., see *K.A.T.*(3) 264 f.) record that Tiglath-Pileser overran a land, supposed to be Bit Khumria (*i.e.* Kingdom of 'Omri, by which name N. Israel was known to the Assyrians), and left to its ruler only Samaria. (4) A mutilated fragment (Rawlinson, iii. 10, No. 2; *C.O.T.* i. 246 f.) records that Tiglath-Pileser took two towns, 'Ga-al . . . and . . bel . .' (Gilead

paired to do him homage. Anxious as a vassal to imitate his lord, and impressed by an altar which he saw in Damascus, he sent the pattern to Uriyah, the priest at Jerusalem, had one like it constructed for the Temple, and himself sacrificed upon this when he returned. Some further changes which he ordered in the Temple and the ritual are not intelligible to us, but the account of them brings out clearly the undiminished supremacy of the crown over the Temple and its methods of worship.[1] Previous tributes to foreign monarchs, taken from the Temple treasures, had been occasional, and once paid were done with. But in the Assyrian Aḥaz met a more persistent master to whom tribute had to be sent annually. There was no time to replenish the emptied treasuries, and Aḥaz had to strip the metal from some of the most ancient of the Temple furnishings. Among these were the machines on which the Lavers ran, and the twelve Bronze Bulls that bore the Bronze Sea.[2]

The chronology of the Books of Kings offers alternative dates for the death of Aḥaz, 727 or 720. The latter alone leaves room for the sixteen years over which his reign is said to have extended,[3] suits other symptoms of the text, and is conformable to data in the following reign of Ḥezeḳiah.[4] If it

The Fall of Samaria, 721 B.C.

and Beth Maacah ?) 'above Bit Khumria,' which, 'in its entire extent,' was made Assyrian; that he took Gaza, whose king, Hanno, fled; that all the inhabitants of Bit Khumria were deported to Assyria; that Pekah, their king, was slain and Hoshea' appointed in his stead. In what order these events happened is uncertain: see Schrader, *C.O.T.* i. 246 ff.; Winckler, *K.A.T.*[3] 56 f., 264 f.; Whitehouse, *Isaiah* (*Century Bible*) 13 f.

[1] On the whole passage, 2 Kings xv. 10-16, see the commentaries.

[2] 2 Kings xvi. 17 f. (text uncertain); see above, pp. 65 f.

[3] 2 Kings xvi. 2.

[4] See the commentaries, especially Benzinger's and Skinner's; also Winckler's argument that Samaria fell in the end of the reign of Aḥaz. The date 720 for Aḥaz's death is accepted by a growing number of scholars.

be correct, Aḥaz lived to see the end of the Northern Kingdom. After resisting for three years a siege by Shalmaneser IV., Samaria fell, in 721, to his successor, Sargon, who carried away 27,000 of the inhabitants and destroyed the state. Judah alone was left to represent the people of Jahweh, and Jerusalem had no longer any rival either as the capital of Israel or as the chief sanctuary of the national God.

We have now finished our survey of the history of Jerusalem from Reḥoboam to Aḥaz. We have seen her lose the high rank and great prosperity which she had enjoyed under Solomon; but gradually regain much of both, while preserving the dynasty of David and the Ark of the God of Israel. We have seen her grow stronger than she ever was before both in material and spiritual resources. But a novel danger and one more pregnant than she has yet encountered begins to loom upon her in that subjection to Assyria into which Aḥaz has just drawn her. With all this Jerusalem is now to pass into the hands of the greatest statesman who ever swayed her life. What he inherited from her and what in return he gave her; how he interpreted her history, developed her spiritual forces, rallied her dynasty and her military strength, and by his almost solitary faith arrested the destruction which threatened her, will form the subject of the next two chapters.

Summary of the Period, 933-720 B.C.

CHAPTER V

ISAIAH'S JERUSALEM

FROM 740 ONWARDS

ACCORDING to his own reading of her history, Isaiah inherited so much through Jerusalem, that (at the risk of repetition) we must attempt to register the endowments, spiritual and material, which he owed to her before we can estimate the supreme service which in return he rendered to his City. The Disruption had deposed Jerusalem from her brief reign as the capital of all Israel. Of her territory only the small province of Judah was left, while the reputation of her Temple was still below that of many other sanctuaries in the land. Yet in the dynasty of David and the Ark of Jahweh with its comparatively pure worship, Jerusalem held stronger pledges for the future than Israel at the time anywhere else possessed. It is true that neither of these securities had escaped challenge and serious danger. From the congenital heathenism of a part of her population,[1] and the foreign alliances of some of her kings, the City was liable to outbreaks of idolatry; while the House of David suffered at least one overthrow and was almost extirpated.[2] But from such disasters both the dynasty and the religion emerged with a brighter lustre and a more articulate

Isaiah's Inheritance in Jerusalem.

[1] Ezek. xvi. 3.

[2] By 'Athaliah.

confidence in their destiny. Behind them a considerable force of piety and virtue is visible in all classes of the population. With few exceptions the kings were loyal to Jahweh, and many evinced both character and wisdom. They were aided and corrected by the priesthood. The bulk of the country people were on the same side. In some royal measures we can trace the growth and refinement of the moral sense. Rude customs were abolished and reforms effected. Religion was organised and the Law codified. We perceive the increase, if not the first appearance, of a literature of patriotism and religious faith, breathing a strong confidence of the future. The Temple, though avoided by the great majority of the Tribes and ignored by the main currents of prophecy which ran in the Northern Kingdom, steadily grew in its command of the Judæan people and in the influence of its priesthood. It is true that down to Aḥaz the supremacy of the King was maintained over both the administration and the ritual of the Temple; but the inference is unjust, that therefore the Temple was little more than the Chapel Royal. Its very proximity to the Palace meant the training of its priests in public affairs; and in politics and religion they undoubtedly played a part analogous to that of the more famous prophets of the North. Several episodes in the history prove the increasing popularity of the Temple and the consequent growth both of its revenues and of its spiritual influence. The people of the land gathered to it; its treasures, though often exhausted, were always again sufficient for national emergencies. The Temple was regarded, if not as the only, yet as the chief, sanctuary of Jahweh in Judah: it was not merely a royal but a national and a popular

shrine. To all this we have to add, at least from 'Uzziah onwards, the development of the trade of the City and the increase of her military strength. The walls which fell before Joash of Israel were so fortified by 'Uzziah and Jotham that they resisted not only the confederate troops of Israel and Aram, but, after Hezekiah's additions to them, the arms of Assyria.

Such was the Jerusalem in which Isaiah grew up: the City of David and of the Temple; soon to be the sole capital and unrivalled sanctuary of Israel; strongly walled and fairly wealthy; with a trained priesthood, a comparatively pure worship and a large body of religious law and literature; but with a very mixed and fickle population under rulers who were entangling her fortunes with the perilous policy of Assyria. The vision which Isaiah gives of Jerusalem is twofold, actual and ideal. On both sides it confirms that story of her growth from Reḥoboam to Aḥaz, which we have read from the annals of Judah.

His Double Vision of her.

First, then, we find portrayed, as by one who, for forty years at least, walked the pavements of Jerusalem and watched her from his housetop, line after line of her material features, and phase after phase of her crowded life.

1. The Actual City:

We get not a few glimpses of her position and shape—*Mount Ṣion* and *the hill of Jerusalem*,[1] so described for the first time; of fragments of her architecture and engineering—*the conduit of the Upper Pool on the highway of the Fuller's Field*,[2] *the Shiloaḥ*, and

the Material Features,

[1] x. 12 (?) 32; xxxi. 4.

[2] vii. 3; vol. i. 103 ff., vol. ii. 128.

its *softly flowing waters*,[1] *the armour in the Forest-house*,[2] *the waters of the Lower Pool, and the tank between the two walls for the water of the Old Pool*;[3] of the lines of wall,[4] the Temple with its Courts,[5] and the house-tops,[6] at all times in this City of covered lanes the only stages on which crowds are visible; of the *lifted* look of the new buildings;[7] and of the *carven sepulchres on high*,[8] the like of which are still so conspicuous from Jerusalem. The environing hills stand clear; Nob is named upon them, and behind Nob the train of villages up the great North Road.[9] There are also the *wâdies between precipices* and *the clefts of the rocks*,[10] characteristic of the immediate surroundings of the City; *the standing wheat* in the Vale of Rephaim;[11] and the whole background of pasture and agriculture, vineyards and olive groves, with large single trees scattered across it, terebinths and oaks.[12]

We see, too, by Isaiah's eyes, the habits and fashions of the citizens. The various religions are visible: on the one side the Temple-courts, thronged with worshippers, and above them the smoke of the lavish sacrifices, the new moons and the Sabbaths;[13] on the other heathen rites and magic, the many idols and soothsayers,[14] the necromancy and spirit-raising,[15] the Adonis gardens and the worship of trees.[16]

and the Fashions of her life.

[1] viii. 6. [2] xxii. 8; see above, p. 68.
[3] xxii. 9, 11; but it is uncertain whether these verses are of Isaiah's date.
[4] ii. 15; xxxvi. 11, etc. [5] vi. 1; i. 11 ff. [6] xxii. 1.
[7] ii. 12, 15. [8] xxii. 16. [9] x. 28 ff.
[10] vii. 19. [11] xvii. 5.
[12] v. 1-6, 8-10; vi. 13; vii. 21 ff.; xvii. 6; i. 29-30; xxviii. 23 ff. (though Cheyne and others deny this passage to Isaiah); xviii. 4 ff.; i. 8.
[13] i. 11-15. [14] ii. 6, 8, 18, etc.
[15] viii. 19: the objections to the authenticity of these verses are not cogent.
[16] xvii. 10 f.; i. 29 f.

We see a great deal of luxury and vice; the parade and foppery of the women,[1] and, in verses which Juvenal might have written of the Romans of his day, the drunkenness in the streets and at the banquets: *priest and prophet reel with new wine, and totter while giving judgment; all tables are covered with vomit, filth everywhere.*[2] The rulers are childish and effeminate; the judges are corrupt; the poor are oppressed; tyranny in high places and insolence among the young and the mean.[3] Through all this moves the prophet himself, austere, clamant, persistent: confronting the king at the end of the conduit;[4] displaying a large tablet with plain characters;[5] leading about his children with the ominous names;[6] walking for three years through the streets stripped of his upper robe and barefoot.[7] In short, we have seen nothing of Jerusalem so near or so vivid since the days of David.

The Crowds and Tumult.

Most significant for the history of the City are the movement and noise everywhere audible round the prophet. The land has become full of silver and gold, full of horses and chariots.[8] There are strong foreign elements;[9] and other prophets of the time emphasise the increase of trade and building. All this must have found its focus in Jerusalem, *her pomp, her throng, her tumult, and the boisterous in her*;[10] while the rural districts, under the new economic conditions, were being stripped of their people and their wealth.[11] Isaiah prophesies in presence of the characteristic

[1] iii. 16 ff. [2] xxviii. 7 f.; cf. v. 11 f. [3] Chs. i., iii. and v.
[4] vii. 3 ff. [5] viii. 1 ff.
[6] vii. 3; viii. 3 ff.; 18. [7] xx. 1 ff. [8] ii. 7 ff.
[9] ii. 6; cf. Shebna, the secretary with the Aramaic name. [10] v. 14.
[11] v. 8 ff.; cf. Micah ii. 2; and see vol. i. 281, 295 f.

tempers of a large city-life: the religion of crowds,[1] their fickleness and desperate levity—

What has come to thee, then, that the whole of thee
Is up on the house-tops?
O full of uproar, city tumultuous,
Boisterous town!
The Lord Jahweh Ṣebaôth, was calling on that day
To tears, lamentation, baldness, girding with sackcloth;
And lo, there was joyaunce, merriment, slaying of oxen, killing of sheep,
Eating of flesh and drinking of wine; eating and drinking for—
'To-morrow we die.'[2]

In this connection we must notice how Isaiah mentions Jerusalem as parallel to the rest of Judah—*the Lord removes from Jerusalem and from Judah every stay and support; Jerusalem comes to ruin and Judah falls;*[3] *ye dwellers in Jerusalem and men of Judah,*[4] and as parallel even to both houses of Israel.[5] The capital is already approaching that preponderance of influence which in coming centuries is to render the rest of the country but the fringe upon her walls. Nothing could more confirm the fact of her growth during the previous period: the change which the development of trade, the new economic conditions alluded to above, and the increasing importance of her Temple had made in her relation to the rest of the land.

Preponderance of the Capital.

But all these visions of the material size, strength and *noise* of the City, vivid and near as they be, are dim beside the burning words in which Isaiah reveals her moral and her religious significance. From such words we receive ample confirmation of the evidence we have gathered of Jerusalem's

2. The Ideal City: her Divine Origin and Purpose.

[1] i. 11 ff.

[2] xxii. 1, 12 f. (probably in 701); עליזה, *boisterous* (cf. v. 14), is also used of Jerusalem by Zephaniah, ii. 15.

[3] iii. 1, 8. [4] v. 3. [5] viii. 14.

ethical development in the age of the Double Kingdom. Her present vice and corruption of justice do not prevent Isaiah from affirming that she had been *the faithful city, full of justice, where righteousness abode.*[1] The Lord had made *a vineyard on a fruitful and sunny hill. He had dug it and cleared it of stones, planted choice vines, built a tower in the midst, hewed a wine-vat and looked to find grapes*—such is the prophet's account of the City's discipline in the centuries leading up to his own.[2] The outcome ought to have been justice and righteousness, but behold it was *bloodshed and screaming.*[3] Nevertheless God has still His purposes for her: He has not Himself forsaken her. *The Lord hath founded Ṣion.*[4] She is Ariel, *God's altar-hearth,*[5] *who has a fire in Ṣion and a furnace in Jerusalem.*[6] *He dwells in Ṣion.*[7] Therefore, even before Samaria fell, and Jerusalem was left without a rival, and even before her vindication in 701 as Jahweh's inviolate shrine, the City was identified by Isaiah with the One True God and with His religion.[8]

The Break of Apocalypse.

It is not wonderful, therefore, that from the beginning of his career the prophet should have beheld Jerusalem in a supernatural glory. This breaks even upon his inaugural vision. The actual Temple is indeed the stage: the walls raised by Solomon and repaired by Joash. But before the eyes of the young

[1] i. 21. [2] v. 1 ff. [3] v. 7.

[4] xiv. 32 (721 ?). [5] xxix. 1 (probably about 704).

[6] xxxi. 9: unless, as some think, this is a later addition to Isaiah's prophecies.

[7] viii. 18. Cheyne dates this oracle as late as 701, but with a mark of interrogation. It is probably earlier.

[8] Not to speak of the opening words of the Book of Amos (i. 2): *Jahweh roareth from Ṣion and uttereth His voice from Jerusalem*—words which some, but I think on insufficient grounds, deny to be original.

seer these give way, and open upon the Divine Court itself and the immediate Presence of the Lord. The foundations of the thresholds rock at the thunderous song of the seraphim, and through the smoke a seraph flies with a glowing stone to the prophet's lips. Nor does Isaiah fail to see the whole City and Land in the same or a similar apocalypse. In one of the very earliest of his discourses he describes *the terror of Jahweh, and the glory of His majesty, when He rises to strike through the land. In that day shall Jahweh*—He whom he had seen *on a throne high and lifted up—be alone exalted.*[1] *The Lord shall cleanse the filth of the daughters of Ṣion, and sweep from her midst the blood of Jerusalem by a blast of judgment and a blast of burning.*[2] There is a vision of Sheol *enlarging her appetite and opening her mouth without measure*, and of *Ṣion's pomp and throng and tumult and boisterousness plunging into it.*[3] The day of Jahweh *is the overthrow of all that is high.*[4] Behold there *will be distress and darkness, the gloom of anguish and pitch darkness.*[5] *Suddenly shall she be visited by Jahweh of Hosts with thunder and with earthquake and a great noise, with whirlwind and storm and flame of devouring fire.*[6] Now these visions are not apocalypse technically so-called, the beginnings of which in prophecy we are wont to trace to Zephaniah. But they travel in that direction, with a desire for the manifestation of God, and a conviction of the fulness of His judgment, which the material

[1] ii. 10, 11, 17, 19 (under Aḥaz).
[2] iv. 4 (under Aḥaz: but denied by some to Isaiah and his time).
[3] v. 14 (under Aḥaz).
[4] ii. 11 f. [5] viii. 22 under Aḥaz).
[6] xxix. 6 (*circa* 703 B.C.): for the material of such visions see above, Book I. ch. iv. on the Earthquakes.

of this dispensation cannot satisfy, and which look to the hidden world for their fulfilment. Occurring as some of the visions do in discourses, unanimously attributed to Isaiah's earlier years, they arrest us from following the recent tendency of criticism to deny to the prophet a number of other passages[1] on the ground that these must be the product of a later age more at home in apocalyptic vision. The verses just quoted prove that the young Isaiah knew how to paint pictures of the Divine presence and judgment with colours from another world and atmosphere than the present. But however we may settle this point of literary criticism, what is now of interest to us is, that to Isaiah on the threshold of his career Jerusalem had already that supreme ethical and religious significance, out of his conviction of which alone he could see her singularly bare and unromantic site enveloped in the glories and terrors of the Divine presence.

The Cardinal Position of Jerusalem.

To this, her religious significance, is due the cardinal place, which Isaiah claimed for a city so aloof and so unendowed by nature, in the politics and history of the world. Isaiah was the first to set Jerusalem on high among the nations; nor had the conditions for such an exaltation been present before his day. What gave the mind of Israel the earliest opportunity of realising the world as a whole was the advance of the Assyrian Empire and its reduction of the peoples under its sway.[2] The religion of Israel rose to the opportunity. The God whom its prophets saw

[1] *E.g.* iv. 5 f.; v. 30; xxx. 27 f. etc.: see Whitehouse, *Isaiah* (*Century Bible*).

[2] Cf. the present writer's *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, I. ch. iv., 'The Influence of Assyria upon Prophecy.'

exalted in righteousness could not but be supreme over the novel, world-wide forces which had risen upon history. His old national name, *Jahweh Ṣebaōth*, meant no more Jahweh of the armies of Israel, but Lord of the great powers. Assyria was but the tempest in His hand,[1] *the rod of His anger and the staff of His indignation.*[2] When He had done with it, He should *break it on His own land, and tread it under foot upon His mountains.*[3] Of these movements of history what could be the centre but the city where God had set His hearth and His dwelling, and where He had provided *a refuge for the afflicted of His people*?[4] Jerusalem was inviolable whether against the confederacy of Aram and Israel,[5] or against the Assyrian invasion itself.[6] God was with her,[7] and would save her by His own arm and in His own way. This was the conviction which sustained Isaiah in his predictions that Jerusalem could not be taken. It was independent of her material strength. But the latter, along with the City's withdrawn and exalted site, afforded that earthly basis which every such spiritual conviction needs for its realisation in history. Without her hills and her walls Jerusalem could not have existed at all, nor Isaiah himself have had ground whereon to stand and answer her enemies. So that even 'Uzziah's and Ḥezekiah's fortifications were part of the preparation for the prophet and for his vindication of his City as inviolable.

[1] Isa. xxviii. 2. [2] x. 5. See Cheyne's reading in *S. B. O. T.*
[3] xiv. 25. [4] xiv. 32. [5] vii. 4 ff.
[6] x. 28 ff. (there is no valid objection against the authenticity of verses 33, 34); xiv. 29-32.
[7] vii. 14; viii. 8, 10. The occurrence of the phrase in these last two verses is denied to Isaiah by Cheyne and others.

In modern criticism there has been a tendency to deny that Isaiah insisted upon the inviolableness of Jerusalem, or predicted her deliverance. He was 'probably content,' it has been maintained, 'to express the general idea of the purgation and renewal of the people.'[1] The reasons for this denial are two: on the one hand, a general theory that Hebrew prophecy before the Exile was wholly judicial and minatory; on the other, that Isaiah himself was purely an ethical teacher, the prophet of faith in the moral might of Jahweh, and not a practical statesman who concerned himself with military issues or the precise political forms in which Israel's future was to be realised; it is later legend which has transformed him into the predictor of exact events, such as the siege and deliverance of Jerusalem. The first of these presuppositions is in itself improbable, and can be sustained only by an arbitrary elimination from the text of the prophets of all passages which contradict it. The second, the attempt to sublimate a great intellect like Isaiah's till it is confined to one consistent line of thought and activity, can be achieved only by grave injustice at once to the genius of the prophet, to the text of his undoubted oracles, and to such evidence as we have of the religious exigencies of his time. That practical statesmanship is not incompatible with a purely spiritual faith, that political sagacity aiming at apparently material ends may exist in the same mind with a lofty idealism which seems to soar above all earthly expediencies, are possibilities which have been frequently realised in history. It is not difficult, there-

Did Isaiah predict the Deliverance of Jerusalem?

[1] Guthe, *Jesaia* in the *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher*, 1907; a different opinion from that expressed in his *Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaias*, 1885.

fore, to reconcile Isaiah's doctrine of sheer faith in God with his insistence on the material security of the City, or even with a prediction, when at last the Assyrians closely threatened her, of her deliverance by God Himself. Ṣion was the dwelling-place of God. He had designed Jerusalem as a City of Righteousness, and although she had morally forfeited her destiny, she remained the only possible site for that reconstruction of her people which, it is admitted, Isaiah foresaw. He emphatically predicted the survival of a Remnant, but the Remnant required a home, and there was no home left for it outside the walls of Jerusalem. Hence his insistence that *in Ṣion* the Lord would lay a foundation-stone; and hence the probability that the predictions of her deliverance imputed to him are genuine. Such an emphasis does not detract from the spiritual character of the faith which the prophet proclaimed. Common-sense in face of the practical necessities of the time is not incompatible with the loftiest idealism. Indeed, there is, next to faith, no quality on which Isaiah more insists than on practical wisdom, sagacity in the conduct of affairs. He reminds the politicians that God also is *wise; wonderful in counsel and excellent in the quality which carries things through*.[1] But the things dearest to the prophet's heart could not be carried through if Jerusalem were taken. It is true that Isaiah appears sometimes to have abandoned his hope for the City, but this was on ethical grounds. There seem to have been outbursts of folly among the people, even in the hour of their greatest danger, and at such moments Jerusalem

[1] xxxi. 1-3; xxviii. 29.

must have appeared to Isaiah as not worth saving. These are not impossible inconsistencies. The tendency of the criticism, to which we have alluded, to confine each prophet to one line of temper or ideal, is also on this point astray and misleading. The prophets were *men of like passions with ourselves*—as the story of Elijah might save us from forgetting—capable, that is, of real as well as apparent inconsistencies. If we keep in mind that they were also confronted with swift changes in the temper of their people, and had therefore to apply their principles to emergencies of very opposite kinds, we must judge the criticism, which denies to them more than a single rôle of thought, as both psychologically and historically inaccurate. That freedom which Jeremiah attributed to his God of changing His purpose for a nation when He found the latter change its disposition for good or evil, may also be attributed to the God in whom Isaiah believed through those great variations of political experience and popular temper that characterised the history of Judah in his day.[1]

Of the characteristics of Jerusalem, developed from David's time onward and used or enhanced by Isaiah, we

[1] The above paragraph is condensed from a review by the author of Professor Guthe's *Jesaia* and other works, in Dr. Menzies's *Review of Theology and Philosophy* for July 1907. Cf. Budde, *Gesch. der alt-Hebr. Litteratur*, 85. 'Frequently as our prophet's view of the future vacillated during his long career, this [the survival of a Remnant] remained constantly certain to him, and condensed itself particularly towards the end of his activity, into the firm promise of the deliverance of Jerusalem from the Assyrian blockade. It is not only attributed to him in the popular legend about the prophet, chaps. xxxvi. f., but occurs also in the original constituents of xxviii. ff., is clearly expressed in x. 5-15, 24-34 (cf. also xiv. 24-27), and is presupposed in xxii. 14; i. 9, 21-26; iv. 1-4, as self-evident. It is, therefore, impossible to stamp Isaiah as the prophet of unconditional destruction, strongly as a powerful school of to-day inclines to do so.'

have now only to deal with her relation to David's dynasty. How did Isaiah treat this? Or did he touch upon it at all? The latter question is rendered necessary by the criticism of Drs. Hackmann, Cheyne, Volz and Marti. Partly on grounds of language, but largely on the theory that all prophecies of the Messiah are late, they deny to Isaiah those passages[1] in which the advent is promised of a victorious Leader and Ruler of Israel, a scion of the house of David. I have already argued against both their premises and their conclusions,[2] and here need only add that the objections to the authenticity of the passages offered by Dr. Marti in his recent Commentary[3] do not seem to me more cogent than those of the others. It is not conclusive to say that Isaiah laboured for the preservation of only a spiritual community, while the functions ascribed to the promised Prince are purely political; or that Isaiah's expectation of the appearance of God Himself leaves no room for the rise of so imposing a figure. Isaiah laboured for the continuance of the Jewish state as strenuously as for the security of Jerusalem. He lamented the corruption of justice and the imbecility into which the government had fallen under Aḥaz. At the time no need was more urgent than that of a wise and righteous prince; if, as Isaiah predicted, invasion and devastation were imminent, it would not be unnatural to paint him a victorious captain as well. But how was such an one to be found outside the House of David, which in Judah knew no rival, and had already, when almost

Isaiah and the Dynasty of David.

[1] Ch. ix. 2-7, and xi. 1-8.
[2] Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, *Isaiah*, ii. 487-89.
[3] In the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*.

extirpated, proved its powers of recuperation? Thus all the moral and political conditions were present for such prophecies as we are now discussing. He who, following Amos, took the popular idea of a coming day of the Lord and transformed it into a purely ethical conception, was equally capable of choosing some common hope of the advent of a powerful prince, and of giving it those moral elements with which the popular religion was incapable of endowing it. To say that Isaiah 'set his hope on Jahweh and upon a religious community, but not upon the Davidic dynasty and a political dominion,'[1] is to detach the prophet—who was a statesman as well—from those political conditions of his age along which we elsewhere find him working for the future. That Isaiah should invest his hope in the recovery and continuance of the Dynasty need give us therefore no more difficulty than the fact of his insisting upon the survival of the City. We may feel even less objection to the military features in the description of the Prince of the Four Names. The title *Father of Spoil* —if that be indeed the correct rendering—is overborne by the others; whilst the defeat of Israel's enemies, associated with the Prince's advent,[2] is as directly imputed to God as it is in the unquestioned oracles of Isaiah.[3] We need not doubt, therefore, Isaiah's authorship of the Messianic passages.[4]

[1] Marti, p. 94 f. [2] Is. ix. 4. [3] *E.g.* xiv. 24 f.

[4] To those who argue for the late origin of these passages it may be pointed out that neither of them attributes to the Ideal Prince any of the measures for achieving the establishment of Israel which were required either by the immediately pre-exilic or the post-exilic generations of Israel, *e.g.* the recovery of the people from Exile or the (post-exilic) dream of a world-empire. Guthe (*Jesaia*) admits the compatibility of the programmes of the two passages with Isaiah's other prospects for Judah; Isaiah's ability as a

Thus, then, the fires which David and Solomon kindled in Jerusalem, and which have been smouldering—sometimes, one might say, without betraying anything but smoke—leap into high, bright flame at the powerful breath of Isaiah. The City has found her Prophet: the mind to read her history and proclaim her destiny. Her long labours and obscure growth from Reḥoboam to Ḥezekiah have received their vision and interpretation. Without that history behind him, Isaiah could not have spoken as he did of the character and destiny of Jerusalem. But he was the first to read and proclaim their full meaning; and therefore Jerusalem may be said to be Isaiah's Jerusalem even more than she was David's or Solomon's.

Isaiah the real Maker of Jerusalem.

poet to paint so ideal a figure; and that an ancient parallel for his teaching about the Spirit's endowment of the Prince and the consequent peace of nature exists in Genesis ii., 'which probably goes back upon very ancient models.' But he denies that we have any proof that the passages are from Isaiah himself, and points to their want of connection with the context. On the other hand, Cornill (*Introduction* (5) Eng. Trans.) considers the prophecies conceivable 'as marking the zenith of Isaianic ideas,' but 'an unmixed marvel if they are the production of a post-exilic teacher of the law,' while the origin and development of the Messianic hope is 'an inexplicable enigma if in Isaiah it is confined to chap. i. 26.' See also Whitehouse's *Isaiah* in the *Century Bible*, 151 ff., a full and convincing argument.

CHAPTER VI

HEZEKIAH AND SENNACHERIB

c. 720-685 B.C.

WE have now to follow Isaiah, as with these convictions about the City he carried her—it would appear almost unaided—through the great crises which fell upon her during the reign of Ḥezeḳiah.

When Ḥezeḳiah came to the throne remains uncertain, 729, 720 (most probably), or 715; as also when he died, soon after 701 or about 692, or even as late as 685. But the discussion of the exact year is not necessary to our present purpose. What is clear is that Ḥezeḳiah had already reigned some years before the campaign of Sennacherib in 701; and if a second attempt of Sennacherib on Jerusalem be found described in Isaiah xxxvii., and dated as late as 690 or thereabouts, Ḥezeḳiah was then still on the throne.

Chronology.

In 721 Samaria fell, the Northern Kingdom came to its end, and its people were carried into exile. Judah remained the sole trustee of the hope of Israel, and the Temple was left without a possible rival. What emphasis this gave to Isaiah's earlier words about the City and Mount Ṣion need not be detailed. But it may be noted that in addition (as some have rightly conjectured) the fall of

Fall of Samaria: Effect on Jerusalem.

the Northern State would lead to the immigration of a number of fugitives to Jerusalem, as well as to the occasional pilgrimages of any of the Israelite population who were left in the land of Samaria.

In the same year, 721, Merodak Baladan, chief of a small Chaldean state at the head of the Persian Gulf, became King of Babylon, in revolt from Assyria, and maintained his position till 710. Somewhere between these years, therefore, we must place his embassy to Ḥezeḳiah:[1] many date it immediately after Merodak Baladan's accession,[2] and suppose it to have been connected with revolts against Assyria by the North-Syrian states, Gaza and the Arabian Muṣri. These were subdued by Sargon in 720. Ḥezeḳiah does not appear to have taken part with them. For nearly a decade no further rising was attempted in Palestine. But the power, or at least the pretensions, of Egypt were growing, and like other Syrian states Judah developed a party sympathetic to her. With the Philistine cities Edom and Moab Ḥezeḳiah seems to have formed a coalition. It was at least as a warning against such a policy that Isaiah received the Divine command to walk disrobed and barefoot for three years: for Jahweh said, *As my servant Isaiah hath walked disrobed and barefoot three years for a sign and a portent against Egypt and Ethiopia,*[3] *so shall the kingdom of Assyria lead away the captives of Egypt and the exiles of Ethiopia stripped, barefoot and with buttocks uncovered, to the*

Merodak Baladan.

Isaiah's warning against reliance on Egypt.

[1] Isaiah xxxix. 1-8.

[2] *E.g.* Winckler, *A. T. Untersuchungen*, 146 ff.

[3] Winckler and others take these to have been the Arabian Muṣri and Kush. On this see below, pp. 155 f.

shame of Egypt. . . . And the inhabitants of this coastland shall say in that day: Lo, such is our expectation, whither we had fled for help to deliver ourselves from the king of Assyria, and we, how shall we escape?[1] The warning was effectual. Ashdod alone revolted, in 711, and was easily subdued by the Assyrian Tartan.

No further attempt against Assyria was made till the death of Sargon and the accession of Sennacherib in 705.

Revolt from Sennacherib's Reliance on Egypt.

Then, or soon after, a wider coalition of the Palestine states was formed, not wholly on their own strength, but with hope of support from Egypt. It is significant of the growing reputation of Jerusalem that in this coalition Ḥezeḳiah seems to have played a leading rôle. The Egyptian party in his Court ruled its politics, and Isaiah's oracles at the time describe their temper. He has now no word of idols, he implies that the people worship Jahweh; yet their religion is purely formal, *a precept of men learned by rote.*[2] They have rejected the spiritual teaching of the prophet; and are trusting in embassies to Egypt, in her promises, in her gifts of horses and chariots, expected or actually received.[3] They appear also to have sought assistance in other quarters. In the narrative of his advance on Jerusalem Sennacherib says that Ḥezeḳiah had reinforced his garrison with Arab mercenaries; and it is the account of an embassy to Arabia which some critics find under the present form of the *Oracle on the Beasts of the South.*[4]

[1] Isaiah xx. 1-6: *in the year that Tartan*—the title of the Assyrian commander in chief—*came to Ashdod when Sargon the King of Assyria sent him and he fought against Ashdod and took it.*

[2] xxix. 13 (about 703 B.C.).

[3] xxx. 1 ff., 12, 16; xxxi. 1.

[4] xxx. 6 ff.

To the same crisis we may assign Ḥezeḳiah's work on the fortifications of Jerusalem, though some of this was so extensive that it may have been carried out in the earlier and less strained years of his reign. According to the Deuteronomic editor of the Books of Kings, the annals of the Kings of Judah held an account of a new *pool* and a *conduit* by which Ḥezeḳiah *brought the waters within the City*[1] The Chronicler says that *Ḥezeḳiah sealed the issue of the waters of Gîḥon, the upper, and directed them down, westwards, to the City of David.*[2] In another passage he explains the King's purpose: *much people were gathered, and they sealed all the springs and the Naḥal*, or *Brook, flowing through the midst of the land, saying, why should the Kings of Assyria come and find much water?*[3] The Chronicler evidently describes the same work as that referred to by the editor of Kings; and there can be no doubt that he understood by it the tunnel which runs under Ophel from the Virgin's Well, or Giḥon,[4] and carries the waters of the latter to the Pool of Siloam. Whether he only inferred this to have been the conduit which Ḥezeḳiah made, or found a statement of the fact in the official annals of Judah, does not matter much. The characters of the inscription in the Tunnel cannot be later than the time of Ḥezeḳiah;[5] and the inscription speaks of the *issue*, called by the Chronicler *Giḥon the upper*, and of *the pool* mentioned in 2 Kings xx. 20. We may therefore reasonably assume that the Tunnel is *the conduit* by which Hezekiah *brought*

Ḥezeḳiah's preparations for Siege: 1. the Tunnel from Giḥon.

[1] 2 Kings xx. 20.
[2] 2 Chron. xxxii. 30 (see vol. i. 102).
[3] *Ibid.* 4 (vol. i. 102).
[4] Vol. i. 93 ff.
[5] Vol. i. 95 f.

the waters into the City of David.[1] His purpose was very practical. The main difficulty with which besiegers of Jerusalem have had to contend—and it has sometimes proved insuperable—is, as we have seen,[2] the waterlessness of the City's surroundings. Gihon, if not the only fountain of the neighbourhood, was the principal one, and sprang just beneath the City walls. By covering the aperture of the cave in which it issued, and by leading the water under the 'City of David' to a reservoir in the mouth of the central valley between Ophel and the South-west Hill, Ḥezeḳiah deprived the invader of its use and secured this for himself. But the formation of a pool where the Tunnel issues in the central valley furnishes us with unambiguous evidence of the extension of Jerusalem over the South-west Hill. We have seen that part of this was probably covered with buildings under David and Solomon, and possibly enclosed with walls.[3] But what is only possible under these monarchs is now seen to be certain under Ḥezeḳiah. His purpose of securing the waters of Gihon for the besieged by bringing them to a pool in the central valley could not have been effected unless he held at the same time the South-west Hill.[4] This rises immediately from the Pool at the end of the Tunnel, and if it had been outside the City and unfortified, a blockading force could easily with their darts and stones have prevented the besieged from using the Pool. We may confidently assert, then, that Ḥezeḳiah's Jerusalem included the South-west Hill, that

[1] In that case the Shiloah mentioned by Isaiah in the reign of Aḥaz was another conduit by which they were still led outside the walls of Ophel; perhaps, as we have seen (i. 104), the channel partly cut in the rock and partly built, which Messrs. Hornstein and Masterman have traced from Gihon southwards.

[2] Vol. i. 15, 79 ff., 102 f.

[3] Above, pp. 42 f., 57, 72.

[4] Vol. i. 38, 103, etc.

this was surrounded by walls, and contained some of the lofty buildings which Isaiah describes.

The Chronicler adds that *Ḥezeḳiah built* again *all the wall which had been breached, and raised upon it towers, and outside another wall.*[1] If *the wall which had been breached* refers to some definite part of the walls of the City, it can only be the northern wall breached by Joash and repaired by 'Uzziah.[2] In that case Ḥezeḳiah further strengthened this most vulnerable part of the fortifications, and *the other wall without* was also on the north, enclosing some new suburb sprung up in the prosperous times of 'Uzziah and Jotham. But the phrase *the wall which had been breached* may bear a more general signification, as of all the fortifications wherever they were in disrepair. Of *the two walls* with *a ditch between them*, mentioned in Isaiah xxii. 11, we have already sufficiently treated.[3]

2. The new Walls.

The Chronicler also tells us that Ḥezeḳiah *strengthened the Millo*,—perhaps, as we have seen, the dam across the mouth of the Tyropœon, below the Birket el-Ḥamra, where Dr. Bliss uncovered not merely a wall, but a very broad and well-buttressed stone rampart. A later hand has added the words, *City of David*.[4]

3. The Millo.

When in 705 the transfer of the Assyrian throne became the occasion for a general revolt among its vassals, the most formidable of these, Merodak Baladan of Bīt Jakīn on the northern coast of the Persian Gulf, who in 709 had been driven from Babylon, now regained that great capital with all

Progress of Sennacherib.

[1] 2 Chronicles xxxii. 5, reading וַיַּעַל עַל־הַמִּגְדָּלוֹת for וַיַּעַל עָלֶיהָ מִגְדָּלוֹת; the LXX. omits the letters יעל על־ה.

[2] 2 Kings xiv. 13; 2 Chronicles xxvi. 9.

[3] Vol. i. 225 f.

[4] 2 Chron. xxxii. 5; the LXX. renders *The Millo* by τὸ ἀνάλημμα.

the commercial and religious influence which its possession conferred. He enjoyed besides the support of Elam. In 703 Sennacherib, on his first campaign, drove Merodak Baladan out of Babylon, and set up there, as 'king of Sumer and Akkad,' a vassal of his own, named Bel-Ibni. Sennacherib's second campaign in 702 was northwards, towards Media. In 701 he began his third—against Phœnicia and Palestine.[1]

His Palestine Campaign, 701.

His swift overthrow of the Phœnicians terrified a number of the southern states into submission but Judah, Ashḳelon, 'Eḳron—where the Assyrian vassal, Padi, had been deposed—and others continued to resist. The head of this coalition was Ḥezeḳiah, by virtue alike of the size of his territory, the strength of his capital, and the repute of his arms, which had recently overrun Philistia as far as Gaza.[2] Padi,

[1] There are six Assyrian accounts of, or references to, this campaign:—(1) 'The Rassam Cylinder' of 700 B.C., recording Sennacherib's first three campaigns. (2) 'The Taylor Cylinder' of 691 (in the British Museum, reproduced at p. 188 of *Light from the East*, by Rev. C. S. Ball, London, 1899), recording eight campaigns, the account of the first three based on 'The Rassam Cylinder.' (3) 'The Bull Inscription' (on slab 1. of the Kuyunjik Bulls in the British Museum, translated in *Records of the Past*, vii. 57 ff., by Rodwell). (4) Cylinder C. (5) The Neby Yunus Inscription of Sennacherib (now at Constantinople; translated in *Records of the Past*, xi. 45 ff., by Budge), with a very brief notice of the campaign of 701, lines 13-15. (6) The Bas-Relief from Sennacherib's Palace at Nineveh (now in the British Museum; reproduced in *Light from the East*, 190 ff.), with the inscription, 'Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, sate on a throne and caused the spoil of Lakîsh to pass before him.' Of all these the most useful to the historian of Ḥezeḳiah's reign is 'The Taylor Cylinder,' along with the additional information of the Bas-Relief of the Siege of Lakîsh. For the following pages I have used the various translations, or summaries, of 'The Taylor Cylinder,' by Talbot, Schrader, Sayce, Ball, Winckler, Weber, Price, and Rogers.

[2] 2 Kings xviii. 8. Cheyne (*Enc. Bib.* column 2059) seems to me rightly to date this campaign of Ḥezeḳiah *before* Sennacherib's arrival, as against Stade and Kittel, who date it later.

upon his deposition—which, perhaps, occurred on this campaign—was delivered into the keeping of Ḥezeḳiah. As we have seen,[1] the league against Assyria did not rely solely upon its own forces. Sennacherib tells us that the garrison of Jerusalem had been increased by a number of Arab mercenaries,[2] and among the forces he encountered at Elteḳeh, near 'Eḳron, were 'bowmen, chariots and horses of the king of Melukhkha,' which used to be considered as Ethiopia, but is now by Assyriologists held to be a state or territory of Northern Arabia.[3] It may be to negotiations before 701 between the South Palestine States and such Arab princes that Isaiah's *Oracle of the Beasts of the South* refers with its description of the passage of an embassy bearing treasure through the terrible desert.[4]

Till recently Old Testament scholars and Assyriologists alike held that Ḥezeḳiah and his allies relied also upon help from Egypt, and that in response an Egyptian force appeared at the Battle of Elteḳeh. Sennacherib includes among his foes there, along with the king of Melukhkha, 'the king' or 'kings of Muṣuri';[5] and Musuri was understood to be the

What was Muṣri?

[1] Above, p. 150.

[2] Taylor Cylinder, col. iii. line 31. The Assyrian word is *urbi*. Schrader, Sayce, Ball (with a query), Price, Nagel, etc., render it 'Arabians.' Others leave it untranslated.

[3] Taylor Cylinder, col. ii. line 74. Schrader in the second edition of the *K.A.T.*, English translation, 289 f., still took Melukhkha as Ethiopia. In his map to the third edition, Winckler places it south of the Gulf of 'Akaba on the Red Sea coast. Budge (preface to vol. vi., *History of Egypt*, p. xv.) thinks that Winckler's previous hypothesis of Melukhkha = Sinai and Midian has much probability. If Melukhkha be an Arabian state, it is surprising to find chariots mentioned among its forces.

[4] Isaiah xxx. 6 f. See above, p. 150.

[5] Taylor Cyl. ii. 23, 'Kings'; but other readings give 'King'; cf. the Bull Inscr. l. 23.

Hebrew Misraim or Egypt, divided at this time under several rulers. But since Dr. Winckler elaborated his arguments for the existence of an Arabian Muṣri, Sennacherib's foes of that name at Elteḳeh are considered by a number of authorities to have been as certainly Arabs as their allies of Melukhkha were. This opinion has been further supported by an appeal to the political condition of Egypt. In the second half of the eighth century, and indeed till the appearance of Taharḳō in 691,[1] Egypt, it is argued, owing to her division, was not capable of interfering in the politics of Palestine. Dr. Winckler indeed holds that wherever the Assyrian inscriptions of that period mention Musri they mean an Arabian Muṣri—that, for example, it was not Egypt, as we have always supposed, but an independent Arab state of the same (or a very similar) name which Sargon had met at Raphia in 720, and which conspired with Ashdod and other South Palestine states in the rising against him of 713-711. The present is not the connection in which to discuss exhaustively the question between Dr. Winckler and those who deny that he has proved the existence of an Arabian Muṣri,[2] but the problem and its most probable solution may at least be stated. Dr. Winckler has produced evidence for an Arabian Muṣri which has convinced a number of leading scholars both in Germany and this country,[3]

[1] According to W. Max Müller, *Enc. Bib.* col. 1245, this is the proper date for Taharḳo's achievement of the sovereignty of all Egypt. The formerly accepted date, 704, is 'certainly improbable' (*n.* 2). See also the detailed argument for 691 in Prášek, *Sanheribs Feldzüge gegen Juda*, i. 34 ff., 1903.

[2] *E.g.* Dr. Budge, in the preface to vol. vi. of his *History of Egypt*.

[3] The English reader will of course consult Cheyne's 'Mizraim,' § 2*b* and other articles in the *Enc. Bib.*; cf. Hommel, 'Assyria,' in Hastings' *D.B.* i. 187 f.; in German, Guthe, *Gesch.* 219 f.

including some who do not think him justified in all the assertions which he makes of the appearance of this state in the Assyrian and Jewish records.[1] At the same time there are great difficulties, one of which is the existence of two independent states, bordering on each other and bearing names which are practically the same: MṢR. We must keep in mind that (as in modern times) Egypt, that is Muṣr or Miṣr (Miṣraim), was not confined to Africa, but included the fringe of Asia as far as the Gulf of 'Aḳaba on the east, and Raphia near Gaza on the north—or just the territory which Dr. Winckler claims for his Arabian Muṣri. It may have been thus that the name Musr came to cover the latter and the Arab tribes which inhabited it;[2] and, if the real Egypt between 745 and 691 was too weak to interfere with Assyrian operations in Palestine, it is quite possible that it is Arab tribes *only* whom the Assyrian inscriptions mean by Muṣur or Muṣuri. But though this is possible, to say that it is certain would be somewhat rash in our present fragmentary knowledge of Egypt at the time. Bokenrenf, the Bocchoris of the Greeks, who reigned at Sais in the last quarter of the century, evinced some power and left a great reputation. Either he or the vigorous Shabako who overcame him about 706[3] may have been strong enough to attract the hopes of the South

[1] *E.g.* Nagel, *Der Zug des Sanheribs gegen Jerusalem*, 1902, p. 98, who admits the existence of an Arabian Muṣri and its appearance at Elteḳeh in 701, but argues that the Muṣri of Sargon's inscriptions is Egypt.

[2] Since I made this suggestion, which still seems to me the most probable solution of the Muṣr problem, in *The Expositor* for September 1905, Professor Flinders Petrie has independently made it also.

[3] '706 (?),' W. Max Müller, *Enc. Bib.* col. 1245. Shabako certainly corresponded with Assyria; two of his seals have been discovered in the royal library at Nineveh.

Palestine cities in their fear before Sennacherib's advance.

In such uncertainty we must leave the question. But it does not much affect our present purpose. What is clear is that on the approach of Sennacherib, Ḥezeḳiah and his allies sought and found support from Arab tribes and kingdoms; this is proved from the presence of Arab mercenaries in Jerusalem, and of the forces of the king of Melukhkha at the Battle of Elteḳeh. What is not certain is whether Egyptian soldiers were also present at Elteḳeh. The name Muṣuri applied by Sennacherib to some of his foes there may mean Egyptians (as all scholars used to think) or Arab tribes from Asiatic Egypt (as the present writer thinks most probable), or, on Dr. Winckler's argument, the forces of an Arabian land, Muṣur, which at the time was independent of Egypt.[1]

Hezeḳiah's Arabian and Egyptian (?) allies.

Sennacherib, having settled affairs in Phœnicia, advanced upon Ḥezeḳiah and his allies. We need not suppose that his inscriptions give the exact chronological order of his operations. For instance, they report the restoration of Padi immediately after the capture of 'Eḳron, while it is more probable that Ḥezeḳiah did not deliver up Padi till after his own submission and payment of tribute. But in the main the inscriptions follow the natural course of such a campaign.[2] Coming down the sea-coast Sennacherib

Sennacherib's account of his Advance on Jerusalem.

[1] If Dr. Winckler be right, that Egypt was too weak to interfere in South Palestine before Taharḳō's accession in 691, or to attract the hopes of Ḥezeḳiah and his allies, whose only reliance, when Sennacherib approached to attack them, was on an Arabian Muṣri, then we may have to remove the oracles of Isaiah on Egypt in chaps. xxx. ff. from 705-701 (to which they are generally assigned) to the next decade.

[2] See *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, pp. 235 f.

took first Ashkelon and its subject cities: Beth-dagon, Joppa, Bene-berak and Azur. Next he turned to meet the southern forces, whom the allies had summoned to their help: the kings of Musur and the warriors of the king of Melukhkha; and defeated them at Eltekeh (unknown but probably on the Philistine plain). Then he took 'Ekron and was free to turn against the most secure and formidable of the allies, Hezekiah. Sennacherib appears not to have immediately advanced on Jerusalem. Whether because his victory at Eltekeh had not finally dispersed the danger of an attack by an army from the south, and he could not therefore afford to lead his main force against Jerusalem; or because, like the Seleucid generals and Vespasian, he appreciated the strength of Jerusalem and the waterlessness of her surroundings, so dangerous to all her besiegers, and knew that he must not hope to take her before making sure of the rest of the land, he began with the latter. 'But Hezekiah of Jerusalem, who had not submitted to me, forty-six of his walled towns, numberless forts and small places in their neighbourhood I invested and took by means of battering-rams and the assault of scaling-ladders (? siege towers), the attack of foot-soldiers, mines, breaches and . . .[1] Two hundred thousand one hundred and fifty, great and small, men and women, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen and sheep without number I carried off from them and counted as spoil.'[2] While these operations proceeded,[3] part of the Assyrian army blockaded

[1] So after Ball and Nagel, the former of whom renders the last three terms, 'mines, bills and axes': Taylor Cyl. iii. 11-17. [2] *Id.* 17-20.

[3] Because later, when Hezekiah submitted, we find Sennacherib still investing Lakîsh, doubtless one of the Judæan towns, since Hezekiah had already overrun Philistia up to Gaza.

Jerusalem. 'Himself I shut up like a bird in a cage in Jerusalem his royal city. I raised forts about him and the exits of (*or* whatever came forth from) the chief gate of his city I barred. His towns which I spoiled I severed from his territory and gave them to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of 'Ekron, and Ṣilbil, king of Gaza; so I diminished his territory.'[1] The blockade of Jerusalem brought Ḥezekiah to terms. 'Himself the fear of my august Lordship overpowered. The Arabians and his faithful ones, whom he had brought in for the defence of Jerusalem his royal city, fell away.[2] Along with 30 talents of gold and 800 of silver, precious stones, carbuncles, *kassú* stones, great pieces of lapis lazuli, ivory thrones, elephant hides [and] tusks, *ushu* wood, boxwood, all sorts of things, a huge treasure, and his own daughters, the women-folk of his palace, men and women singers he brought after me to Nineveh the city of my Lordship; and for the payment of the tribute and to do homage, he despatched his envoy.'[3]

This account asserts or implies the following: the conquest of Judah, with the overthrow of all the principal cities except Jerusalem, and the captivity of a large portion of the country population; the blockade of Jerusalem, but neither its siege[4] nor its capture; the payment by Ḥezekiah of a costly tribute; and the departure of Senna-

Judah overrun, Jerusalem blockaded, but not taken.

[1] Taylor Cyl. 20-26, after Schrader and Ball.

[2] So Ball and Nagel; cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, 171*a*. Others translate differently.

[3] Taylor Cyl. iii. 29-41: after Ball and Schrader.

[4] The inscription does not use the usual word for siege, but a word that probably means 'blockade': cf. Prášek, *Sanheribs Feldzüge gegen Juda*, 21; in the *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1903, 4. Cf. Winckler, *A. T. Untersuchungen*, 31 (1892).

cherib to Nineveh, before even the tribute could be paid. The Bas-Relief in the British Museum proves in addition that among the cities taken and spoiled by Sennacherib was Lakîsh. For the reason of Sennacherib's swift return to Nineveh we cannot be at a loss. It must have been news of the revolt of his vassal Bel-Ibni in Babylon, for Sennacherib's next campaign in 700 was directed against this rebel.

There is no doubt that the Biblical parallel to Sennacherib's record of his suddenly ended campaign in Southern Palestine is found in 2 Kings xviii. 13-16: *In the fourteenth year of king Ḥizḳiyah Sanherîb, king of Ashshûr, came up against all the fortified cities of Judah and took them; and Ḥizḳiyah, king of Judah, sent to the king of Ashshûr to Lakîsh saying: I have sinned; turn from against me, what thou layest upon me I will bear; and the king of Ashshûr laid upon Ḥizḳiyah, king of Judah, 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold. And Ḥizḳiyah gave up all the silver, found in the House of Jahweh and in the treasuries of the Palace. At that time Ḥizḳiyah stripped the doors of the Temple of Jahweh and the pillars which Ḥizḳiyah* (?), *king of Judah had overlaid and gave it to the king of Ashshûr.* The first verse of this passage is found in Isaiah xxxvi. 1, the rest are omitted. The independence of the passage from what follows it will be shown below.

The Biblical Parallels: 1. Narrative.

To the same campaign of Sennacherib in 701 we may reasonably refer the long discourse by Isaiah, now placed as a preface to his prophecies, ch. i. 2-26; but it is right to mention that some refer this to the previous invasion of Judah by Aram and Israel in 734. Verses 7-9 run as follows:—

2. Prophecy.

Your land is a waste, your cities are burned with fire,
Your soil before you strangers devour it
(It is waste as the overthrow of Sodom).[1]
The daughter of Ṣion is left like a hut in a vineyard,
Like a lodge in a garden of cucumbers,
Like a city beleaguered.[2]
Had Jahweh of hosts not left us a remnant,
Almost as Sodom had we been,
To Gomorrah had been levelled.

To the same year of 701 is usually assigned chap. xxii. 1-14. It seems hardly possible to take this passage as a unity.[3] Owing to the corruption of the text it is difficult, if not impossible, to detect the seam between the two pieces: hence the diverse modern divisions of the passage. But not only are the opening verses (1-5 at least) in one rhythm, and the closing (11*b*-14) in another; they do not appear to describe the same phase of the fickle temper of the City. Verses 1-2*a* exhibit the people on

[1] So Ewald, Lagarde, Cheyne, and others, reading סדם for the unmeaning יורים. The clause, however, is taken by some as a later insertion, on the ground that it breaks into the couplets of the verse-form.

[2] This clause is strange after the previous comparisons, unless Isaiah spoke it before the actual blockade of Jerusalem.

[3] Formerly the universal opinion (shared by the present writer, *Expositor's Bible*, Isaiah i.-xxxix.), and still held by Prof. Skinner (*Camb. Bible*, 162 ff.); cf. Robertson Smith, *Prophets*, 1st ed., 346 f. Duhm divides the passages into two oracles of Isaiah: (*a*) 1-7, on an unknown occasion which moved the City to mirth, which the prophet answers by a vision of destruction; (*b*) 8-14, the prophet's rebuke of the City's trust in its preparations against a siege and its subsequent desperate levity. Marti distinguishes three pieces: (*a*) 1-5, in the Ḳinah measure: to the City, in an exultant mood, Isaiah announces his vision of the overthrow of its leaders without resistance; (*b*) 6-11, the work of a later writer, because of the mention of Elam, which cannot have been among the Assyrian forces in 701; (*c*) 12-14, Isaiah's, from the same occasion as 1-5, the thoughtless joy of the citizens at the withdrawal of the Assyrians in 701. Cheyne (*S. B. O. T.* p. 163: see further *Crit. Bibl.*) distinguishes 1-5 and 6-14, both on the Assyrian withdrawal, the latter describing the rebound of the citizens from despair to hope. He thinks something has fallen out from the beginning of the second piece. All three take vs. 9*b*-11*a* as a gloss.

the housetops in a joyous celebration, to which the prophet opposes, in 2*b*-5, his vision of an imminent flight of the garrison merging into a picture of *a day of the Lord*. On the other hand, verses 8-14[1] rebuke the people for trusting in their preparations for a siege instead of in God; and then, as if even that material confidence had given way, depicts them, while God calls them to repentance, plunging into a desperate self-indulgence—*for to-morrow we die*. This is a very different mood from that pictured in the opening verses. Let us take verses 11-14 first. Professors Cheyne, Skinner and Marti refer this oracle to the people's relief upon the sudden withdrawal of the Assyrians: 'in the rebound from despair to hope the citizens of Jerusalem give expression to the wildest joy.'[2] But this does not suit the cry, *for to-morrow we die*. These words compel us to refer the passage to a panic, when the people imagined that their end was near, and instead of penitence gave way to wild excesses. Now the occasion of this panic may have been that alluded to in Sennacherib's statement: during the blockade of the City, Ḥezeḳiah's 'Arab mercenaries and his faithful ones' deserted. At an earlier moment, when no fear of their end possessed the citizens, but they had gone up to the housetops in great joy, Isaiah appears to have anticipated some such desertion of their cause, even by the rulers themselves: verses 1-3:—

What aileth thee now, thou art up
All to the housetops?
O full of uproar, city of tumult,
Boisterous town.

[1] Perhaps this passage begins earlier; for verses 12 f. see p. 137.
[2] Cheyne, *S.B.O.T.*, 'Isaiah,' p. 163.

Thy slain are not slain with the sword,
Nor fallen in battle.
Thy rulers are fled altogether.
. . . . .[1]

Thy strong ones have yielded[2] *together,*
Afar have they hurried.

An alternative is to take the exultation of the people on the housetops as happening on the departure of the Assyrians, while the prophet predicts the certain return of the latter. But this is less likely, for verses 8-9*a* go on to describe hasty preparations *before* a siege, *when He had removed the screen of Judah*: that is, when the frontier fortresses strengthened by Ḥezeḳiah and previous kings as screens to the capital had already been captured by Sennacherib. It is therefore more reasonable to take the exultation upon the housetops as happening upon the arrival of some addition to the strength of Jerusalem—possibly the entry of the Arabian mercenaries; while, as we have seen, the different mood of the people, described in verses 11-14, emerged before rather than after the blockade was lifted, and possibly on the desertion of these same hirelings along with a number of the native Jews.

Summary of Events in these passages.

So much, then, at least happened in 701, and is covered by Sennacherib's inscription and the passages of narrative and prophecy we have quoted. Ḥezeḳiah strengthened his garrison with a number of Arab mercenaries. Sennacherib, having devastated Judah, blockaded Jerusalem. The blockade was lifted, and Ḥezeḳiah sent tribute to Sennacherib

[1] The text of this line is uncertain: as it stands it reads, *Without the bow they are bound.* Perhaps for מקשת we should read מקשר.

[2] For אסרו, wrongly repeated from the previous line, read סָרוּ.

either at Lakîsh or at Nineveh, whither the Assyrian king implies that he suddenly returned.

The short Biblical summary of these proceedings[1] is, by the style of it, evidently drawn from the annals of Judah. But there immediately follow two further accounts of Assyrian expeditions against Jerusalem,[2] which, besides differently spelling the name Ḥezeḳiah, are couched not in the annalist's but in a narrative style, and are usually taken to be from that class of prophets' biographies upon which the compiler of the Books of Kings has so largely drawn.[3] These two narratives contain obvious editorial additions.[4] The compiler certainly did not finish his work before the Exile, or more exactly before the middle of the sixth century, and to him may be assigned the possibly late features which the language of the two accounts exhibits.[5] The foreshortening of the period

Two further Narratives: their historical value.

[1] 2 Kings xviii. 13-16 (verse 13 is parallel to Isaiah xxxvi. 1).

[2] (*a*) 2 Kings xviii. 17-xix. 8 parallel with Isa. xxxvi. 2-xxxvii. 8; (*b*) 2 Kings xix. 9-37 parallel with Isa. xxxvii. 9-38.

[3] As *e.g.* in the cases of Elijah and Elisha.

[4] *E.g.* xviii. 17: *the Tartan and the Rabsaris*, in addition to the Rabshaḳeh; for verses 17-19 imply the presence only of the Rabshaḳeh, cf. xix. 8; xix. 2, 20, *son of Amos*, cf. Kautzsch *in loco*; xix. 10: *Thus shall ye speak to H. King of Judah, saying* (Kautzsch).

[5] For example, the name *Jewish* (instead of Hebrew) for the language of the people of Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii. 26, 28), not elsewhere used in the O.T. except in the post-exilic Neh. xiii. 24, and objected to on the ground that it could not have come into use so soon after the fall of Samaria and the sole survival of Judah as the end of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century. Nagel argues that its use was possible after 681, subsequent to which year he places the two accounts because of Sennacherib's death. Other expressions alleged to be late are the Deuteronomic phrases in Ḥezeḳiah's prayer, xix. 15 ff.; the words שאריה and פלטה, xix. 31, which Cheyne calls post-Isaian, but this is doubtful (see Nagel's answer); and the expressions *for My sake*, and *for the sake of My servant David* (so Kuenen and others).

between Sennacherib's return from Palestine and his murder in 681 may also be due to the distance of the compiler from these events.[1] More precarious evidence of the compiler's alteration of his materials is found by some in the religious temper of the two accounts. The monotheism especially of Ḥezeḳiah's prayer is said to be too pure for a date before Deuteronomy and the 'Second Isaiah';[2] while the representation of Isaiah as a mediator between God and man is held to be a conception of the prophetic office not formed till later. This line of argument is very uncertain. Isaiah, during his long career and by the vindication of several of his predictions, may well have achieved an authority sufficient to create among his contemporaries the conception of him prevailing in these narratives. Again, Ḥezeḳiah's expectation of help from Egypt, and the Assyrian assertion that he will be disappointed, are not impossible (as some have alleged) before Tirhaḳah's conquest of Egypt in 691; but are consistent with Isaiah's own oracles so generally assigned to 705-701. On the other hand, many of the details in the two accounts can hardly be the invention of a late compiler. The case for the credibility of the narratives may have been overstated,[3] but their graphic description is most adequately explained as the work of a contemporary, if not of an eye-witness. The two accounts, then, owe their present form, including some overlapping and probably some errors not always possible to distinguish, to their late

[1] 2 Kings xix. 36, 37: so Kuenen.

[2] So Meinhold and others.

[3] As by Nagel in his sections on 'The Credibility of the Hebrew Accounts' in *Der Zug des Sanheribs gegen Jerusalem.*

compilation; but the attempt to prove them substantially unsound cannot be maintained.[1]

The contents of these two accounts are as follows. The First (2 Kings xviii. 17-xix. 8)[2] relates that the Assyrian Rabshaḳeh, or Chief Minister, was sent by Sennacherib from Lakîsh with an army to Jerusalem, to demand her surrender; but Isaiah emboldened Ḥezeḳiah to defiance by predicting that the king of Assyria would hear a rumour, return to his own land, and there perish by the sword. So the Rabshaḳeh rejoined his master at Libnah. The Second (2 Kings xix. 9-37)[3] relates that Sennacherib, hearing that Tirhaḳah[4] of Egypt was advancing, sent a letter to Ḥezeḳiah once more demanding the surrender of Jerusalem; Ḥezeḳiah spread the letter with prayer before God; Isaiah told him that the Assyrian was overruled by God and would return without coming near Jerusalem; an angel smote of the Assyrians 185,000 in a single night; Sennacherib returned to Nineveh and was murdered by his sons in the temple of Nisroch.[5]

The Contents of the two Narratives.

Two serious questions are raised by these similar yet

[1] Praŝek (*op. cit.* 25 ff.) divides the first into a short summary from the annals of Judah, 2 Kings xviii. 17, 18, xix. 8, of historical value, and a prophetic narrative of the time of the Exile; but so definite a division cannot be pronounced successful. The oracles attributed to Isaiah in xix. 21-34 have been doubted. They vary in rhythm, and some of the verses contain the later features noted above. But even if parts, or all, of them be omitted, a substantial narrative remains.

[2] Parallel with Isaiah xxxvi. 2-xxxvii. 8.

[3] Parallel with Isaiah xxxvii. 9-38.

[4] The Hebrew form of Taharḳō.

[5] The line between the two accounts is very sharp. 2 Kings xix. 8 tells of the return of the Rabshaḳeh from Jerusalem to Sennacherib at Libnah. But the subject of the verb, *and he heard*, in verse 9, is not the Rabshaḳeh but the king. With this verse, then, a new narrative obviously begins. The verses xix. 35-37 describing the visitation on the Assyrian army, the return of Sennacherib and his murder, are assigned by some to the first account.

differing narratives of expeditions to Jerusalem from Sennacherib. Are they parallel versions of one and the same expedition, or the accounts of two separate expeditions? And do they refer to the events of 701, as given by Sennacherib's inscription and the extract from the annals of Judah, or to some later campaign of Sennacherib in Palestine? To both these questions diametrically opposite answers have been given with equal confidence. The evidence is incomplete, and as it stands somewhat conflicting. We can reach only probable answers—and even when most probable not entirely harmonious.

The Questions they raise.

The recent tendency of criticism[1] has been to take the narratives as parallel versions of the same course of events in 701. Stress is laid upon their common elements: the despatch of a mission by Sennacherib to demand the surrender of Jerusalem; the similarity of the speech of the Rabshaḳeh in the First to the letter given in the Second; Ḥezeḳiah's submission of both speech and letter to God; the intervention in both cases of Isaiah and his encouragement of Ḥezeḳiah to defy Sennacherib; while the discrepancies between the two narratives are held to be 'perhaps not greater than between parallel accounts in the four gospels.'[2] This is by no means conclusive. Other explanations of the similarities are, to say the least, equally probable. For in part these may be due to the borrowing by one account of the exact terms of the other;[3]

Are they parallel Versions of the same Expedition in 701?

[1] Since Stade's analysis of the narratives in *Z.A.T.W.* vi. 1886. See Skinner, *Kings*, 388, where the argument is maintained against the new hypothesis of Winckler; Whitehouse, *Isaiah*, 353.

[2] Skinner, *Isaiah, i.-xxxix.* 262.

[3] For example, the list of towns conquered by Assyria.

and still more they may have arisen from the analogies between two similar situations in which the principal actors were the same. If Sennacherib sent two different missions to demand the surrender of Jerusalem, it is probable that he would repeat himself, nor is it less likely that Ḥezeḳiah and Isaiah would return him similar replies. On the other hand, the discrepancies between the two narratives are greater than the advocates of their parallelism allow; and more consistent with the explanation which refers the narratives to two successive missions. In the Second there is no allusion to the fall of Samaria, which is explicable if this narrative deals with events later than the First. In the Second, Sennacherib no longer taunts Ḥezeḳiah with the futility of reliance on Egypt; again a natural omission if, as the Second narrative states, Taharḳō was at last able to march into Palestine. There is also a difference in the positions assigned to Sennacherib by the two narratives. In the First he is in Judah, not far from Jerusalem, to which he is able to send a corps detached from his great host; in the Second he is not near, and Isaiah asserts he will not come near.[1] There is also a great difference between the panic ascribed to Ḥezeḳiah in the First narrative, and his calm demeanour in the Second; the change is naturally explained, both if we assume that Ḥezeḳiah had already passed through the discipline described in the first narrative, and if we suppose (as we have just seen reason to do) that on the second occasion the Assyrians were at a much greater distance from the capital. In the First

or the Accounts of two successive Expeditions?

[1] Prašek's contention (*op. cit.* 32, 37) that the letter of Sennacherib in the Second narrative implies that Jerusalem was besieged by the Assyrians and hard pressed, is unfounded; on the contrary, Winckler, *A. T. Unters.*, 42.

narrative Ḥezeḳiah sends a formal embassy to Isaiah; in the Second Isaiah sends of his own accord to Ḥezeḳiah. And finally, while, in the First, Isaiah announces that Sennacherib's departure from Palestine will be due to a rumour, in the Second this is not implied, but the cause of his departure is a pestilence.[1]

They are the accounts of two Assyrian Expeditions.

While, then, the similarities in the two narratives are explicable on other grounds than that they are parallel versions of the same expedition, their differences are less consistent with such a theory than they are with the interpretation of the two narratives as the accounts of successive missions from Sennacherib to Jerusalem. We take it, that Sennacherib sent twice to Jerusalem to demand her surrender, and twice was defied by Ḥezeḳiah under the influence of her great prophet.[2]

Were there two Campaigns of Sennacherib in Palestine?

This leads to our other question: Did both of these separate missions sent by Sennacherib to Jerusalem take place in 701; or is the first alone to be assigned to that year, and the second to another campaign of Sennacherib some years later? The hypothesis that Isaiah xxxvi.-xxxvii. records the results of two Assyrian invasions of Palestine was advanced by British scholars from a comparatively early date,[3] but met with opposition,[4] and was generally

[1] There is no sufficient reason for assigning the story of the pestilence to the first narrative.

[2] Even some of the adherents of the theory of parallelism between the two narratives admit that the latter 'allow themselves' to be read as a continuous whole.

[3] Hincks, followed for a time by Cheyne and Schrader, dated the first in Sargon's campaign of 711, the second in Sennacherib's of 701. Sir Henry Rawlinson distinguished between a first successful campaign of Sennacherib, and a later unsuccessful one by the same monarch (G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, 1862).

[4] From Schrader.

supposed to be disproved on the grounds that there is no room in the Biblical records for a second campaign, and no word about it in the Assyrian annals.[1]

Assyrian evidence for a second Palestine Campaign by Sennacherib.

Recently, however, additional evidence has appeared which, though not conclusive, points towards the fact of a second Palestine campaign by Sennacherib some years later than that of 701. First of all we have an allusion in the annals of Asarḥaddon to a campaign by Sennacherib in Northern Arabia.[2] As Asarḥaddon repeated this expedition of his predecessor and continued its probable purpose in the invasion of Egypt, it was argued that Sennacherib himself had advanced from his Arabian conquests at least as far as the frontier of Egypt; and appeal was made to the Egyptian tradition of an Assyrian overthrow and retreat, reported by Herodotus,[3] which calls Sennacherib 'King of the Arabians and Assyrians,' a title that implies his Arabian conquests. On this ground alone Dr. Winckler has argued for a second appearance of Sennacherib in Palestine, after 690, of which the Biblical account is found in the Second of the narratives which we have been discussing;[4] and his argument has received considerable support.[5] But,

[1] Cheyne, *Intro. to the Book of Isaiah*, 234 f.; Rogers, *Hist. of Babyl. and Assyria*, ii. 203 *n.* 4. Cf. Meinhold, *Jesaia u. seine Zeit*, ii. ff.

[2] In which he took the fortress of Adumu, variously identified with Petra of Edom, and with Dumât in the Jôf (the Dumata of Pliny): cf. Duma, Isaiah xxi. 11.

[3] ii. 141.

[4] 2 Kings xix. 8-37; Winckler, *Alt. Or. Untersuchungen*, 1889, especially p. 259; *A. T. Untersuchungen* (1895), 41 ff.; *K.A.T.*[(3)], 1902, 272 f.

[5] Hommel, Hastings' *D.B.* i. 188; Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige*; Guthe, *Gesch.*, 221; Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, vi. 141 f.). Budge (*Hist. of Egypt*, vi. 149) says that the compiler of the Books of Kings 'seems to have confused' two sieges of Jerusalem, one when Shabataka was king of Egypt, and one when Taharḳō was king.

secondly, Father Scheil has discovered a fragment of Sennacherib's own annals,[1] which implies that between 691 and 689, in consequence of a revolt of his western vassals encouraged by the activity of Taharḳō, Sennacherib undertook a campaign westwards; unfortunately the fragment does not carry his progress farther than Northern Arabia.

Its Harmony with the Biblical Narratives.

In this inconclusive state of the Assyrian evidence it may be pointed out how far the hypothesis of a second campaign by Sennacherib to the South suits the Biblical record. Before Father Scheil's discovery this was supposed to have taken place in the eighties of the seventh century.[2] But we now know that the campaign, whether or not it extended to Palestine, took place between 691 and 689, which would bring it within the possible extent of Ḥezeḳiah's reign and Isaiah's career. By that time, too, Taharḳō had certainly become lord of all Egypt, the most probable date being 691.[3] With all this are consistent the introduction of his name at the beginning of our Second narrative,[4] and the omission from Sennacherib's letter of the emphasis which the Rabshaḳeh's speech had laid upon the futility of Judah's reliance on Egypt. Such reliance was not futile now that Taharḳō was advancing. And finally, if the Second narrative refers to a campaign of Sennacherib in 690 or 689, we can more easily understand why there was included in it a notice of Sennacherib's murder in 681, than if it refers to the campaign of 701, which was distant twenty years from that murder.

[1] Announced in the *Orient. Litteraturzeitung* for 1904, p. 2. Cf. Weber, *Sanherib*, Heft 3 of *Der Alte Orient*, 1905.
[2] Winckler, *A. T. Unters.*, 36 f.
[3] See above, p. 156 *n.* 1.
[4] 2 Kings xix. 9.

On the present evidence, then, imperfect though it is, the theory seems most probable that the First narrative describes what happened in 701, either after, or (alternatively) along with, Ḥezeḳiah's submission and the raising of the Assyrian blockade. Having received Ḥezeḳiah's tribute, Sennacherib sent by his Rabshaḳeh a fresh and insolent summons for the surrender of Jerusalem; the despairing king was inspired by Isaiah to defy it, and, in accordance with the prophet's foresight, Sennacherib was hastily summoned from Palestine by news of Bel-Ibni's revolt in Babylon. Alternatively, and some will feel more probably, the mission of the Rabshaḳeh was simultaneous with the blockade of the City, which was raised in consequence of the news from Babylon. The Second narrative, on the other hand, describes what happened some years later, in 690 or 689, when Taharḳō had gained command of all Egypt, and Sennacherib was marching to meet him, after some conquests in Northern Arabia. In this campaign the Assyrian did not come near Jerusalem, but sent a letter demanding her surrender. Ḥezeḳiah received it with calmness, and Isaiah defied its pretensions in the name of his God. The Assyrian army, before it met the Egyptians, was visited by a pestilence, and Sennacherib again hastily retreated to his own land. Eight or nine years later, in 681, he was murdered in Nineveh. The compiler of Kings, working more than a century afterwards, has compressed the two narratives into one of the first campaign in 701. It is his preservation of the name of Tirhaḳah, who did not come to power over Egypt till 691, that enables us to separate the Second narrative and assign its different

Summary of the Probable Course of Events.

story to that second southern campaign of Sennacherib, which the Assyrian evidence gives us some ground to suppose took place between 691 and 689.

Therefore, certainly once, and probably twice, Jerusalem was delivered from capture by the Assyrians, and her people were saved from the deportation and destruction which had overtaken the northern tribes of Israel in 721. A remnant remained in their own uncaptured City, and the altar and dwelling-place of Jahweh were inviolate. As the Assyrians had overrun the rest of Judah, more or less discrediting the influence, if not actually destroying the fabric, of every other shrine at which Jahweh was worshipped, we can appreciate the increased sacredness which the deliverance conferred upon Jerusalem. Mount Ṣion and the Temple stood at last alone: the one inviolable sanctuary of the One True God. Isaiah's predictions were vindicated by a glorious Fact in which not the arms nor the powers of men were manifest, but only the Hand of God for the salvation of His people. We must not, however, forget the previous history of the City and its religious and moral meaning, upon which Isaiah had ventured his predictions of her security. To all that history and its prophetic interpretation the Deliverance of Jerusalem came as God's own signature. We are prone to consider the great event by itself, and to trace to it alone the subsequent prestige of the City. But apart from the previous history and prophecy, the Deliverance would have been as a seal without any document accompanying it.

Vindication of the Unique Holiness of Ṣion,

and of Isaiah's Interpretation of her History.

In estimating the effect of all this upon the destiny

of Jerusalem, we must distinguish the various powers of imagination and conscience which it roused among her mixed and fickle people. Of such powers there were at least three: the conscience of the executive statesmen, the popular imagination, and the more spiritual convictions of the prophets themselves.

The Threefold Effects of all this:

As to the first, we find explicit statements in the Second Book of Kings. The Deuteronomic editor of that book attributes to King Hezekiah a number of religious reforms, some of which are sympathetic with, while others were actually required by, the earlier teaching of the great prophet.[1] Ḥezeḳiah (we are told) *brake in pieces the bronze serpent, which Moses had made, for unto those days were Israel offering to it the smoke of sacrifice,*[2] *and it was called Neḥushtan.* There can be no doubt about the fact of this particular reform, and we may safely assume that it implies the removal, or at least the attempt to remove, all the idolatries against which Isaiah had inveighed. Isaiah's indictment of the idols and the sacred trees had been so absolute, that it is hard to believe that Ḥezeḳiah postponed their abolition to so late a date in his reign as after 701. But the acceptance which has been granted to the record of this reform has been denied to the clause which precedes it—*he removed the high places and brake the pillars and cut down the Ashērôth*[3]—on the grounds that the grammatical form of the clause is late, that there is no evidence of Isaiah's hostility to the three objects which it mentions, and that

1. Upon the Statesmen; Religious Reforms.

[1] 1 Kings xviii. 4.

[2] E. V. *incense.*

[3] Plural, after the LXX.

these were still in use at the beginning of Josiah's reign. The question is difficult, and an answer perhaps not now attainable. But, because the Book of Deuteronomy, which contains explicit laws against the high places, the pillars and the Asherôth, is certainly compiled from earlier sources, and because such written laws were (as we have seen in other cases) connected with specific acts of reform, it is quite possible that Ḥezeḳiah took measures for the abolition of all those three institutions of the earlier religion of Israel. That his reforms were of a drastic character[1] is proved by the violence of the reaction against them under Manasseh. Nor is it a conclusive objection to the introduction of those particulars in the list of Ḥezeḳiah's reforms, that Isaiah does not enforce them by name. In such a movement there are always some details achieved, which its spiritual leaders have not actually defined in their statement of its principles. We have seen the faint beginnings of a tendency towards the centralisation of the worship of Judah nearly a century before Isaiah.[2] And, indeed, so pure a faith as he urged upon his people involved such a centralisation as one of its most practical consequences. To us it may seem paradoxical that the doctrine of the One God should carry as its corollary the doctrine of the One Sanctuary: *neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father: the hour now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth.* But in

Possible attempts to centralise the Worship.

[1] 'Die erste Durchführung der Forderungen des Jahvismus'; 'eine völlige Durchführung des Jahvismus in seiner streng monotheistischen Bedeutung mit teilweiser Beseitigung anderer Kulte.' Winckler, *K.A.T.*(3) 271; cf. Guthe, *Gesch.* 223.

[2] Above, pp. 90 f., 111 f., 130, 133 f., 137 f., 140 f., 174.

the religious circumstances of that time there was indeed no greater safeguard of monotheism than the concentration of the national worship on the Temple. Most of the rural shrines of Jahweh had been shrines of local gods, and in their ritual, as in their worshippers' conceptions of the godhead, must have perpetuated the influences of the ancient polytheism. In name belonging to Jahweh, in reality they were devoted to the Baalim—*according to the number of thy cities are thy gods, O Judah!*[1] The worship of *one Jahweh*, spiritual and not idolatrous, was practicable only in the Temple. Again, the rural sanctuaries had all been violated by the Assyrian invasion of 701; and further, the smallness of the Israelite territory since the collapse of the Northern Kingdom in 721 and the exile of its people, rendered possible the periodical assembly at Jerusalem of all the worshippers of Jahweh. Even, therefore, if Ḥezeḳiah did not actually succeed in centralising the national cult in the capital, there is no reason to doubt that he attempted such a policy. The political and religious motives for it were all present before the end of his reign. It need not have been started at the same time as the measures for removing the idols. Centralisation may have first suggested itself when the suppression of idolatry was found to be impossible so long as the rural sanctuaries remained; and it was, no doubt, greatly facilitated by the violation of these sanctuaries in 701, and by the vindication of the unique inviolableness of Jerusalem. The *removal of the high places* by Ḥezeḳiah is therefore more probable after than before that date.[2]

[1] Jer. xi. 13.

[2] Nevertheless we find it asserted in the speech of the Rabshaḳeh in the first narrative which, as we have seen, refers to 701: Isa. xxxvi. 7; 2 Kings xviii. 22.

Of the effect of the Deliverance of Jerusalem on the popular imagination we can have no doubt. For a century Assyria had been the terror of the peoples of Palestine. The citizens of Jerusalem heard Isaiah himself describe, in periods which marched like their subject, the progress of the monstrous hosts of the North: their unbroken ranks, their pitiless and irresistible advance. Further and further south had this pressed, overwhelming Northern Israel, spreading around Judah, and rising upon the land to the very walls of Jerusalem. From these the citizens at last saw with their own eyes the predicted and long-imagined forms of their terror, knowing that behind lay exile and destruction for the people of God. Then suddenly the Assyrian army vanished and Jerusalem was left the one unviolated fortress on the long, ruin-strewn path of the conqueror. We need not wait for answers to the difficult questions of the date and value of the Scriptures which celebrate the Deliverance. The bare facts, about which there is no doubt, convince us of their effects in the temper of the Jewish people. Upon minds too coarse to appreciate Isaiah's reading of the moral vocation and destiny of their City, her signal relief (or reliefs) from so invincible a foe, must have made a profound impression. The Jews had seen the rest of the sacred territory violated, and a great proportion of its population carried into exile. Here alone the foe had been kept back. Alone the Temple remained secure. From this time, therefore, rose the belief, which seventy years later we find hardened into a dogma, that Jerusalem was inviolable. No article of religion could have been more popular.

2. Upon the Popular Imagination.

Dogma of the Inviolableness of Jerusalem.

Among the mass of the citizens, undoubtedly increased by the devastation of the rest of the country, it must have spread with rapidity; and the measures for centralising the national worship in the Temple, in so far as they were successful, can only have assisted its propagation.

3. The Ethical Attitude of the Prophets.

But we must not suppose that such a belief was accepted by the more spiritual of the prophets. Micah had predicted that *Ṣion should be ploughed as a field, Jerusalem become heaps, and the mountain of the House as the high places of a jungle.*[1] And although Isaiah had foretold the Deliverance, and almost alone had sustained the courage of Jerusalem till it came, he did not, we may be sure, believe in any survival of the City apart from those moral conditions which the popular faith in her inviolableness was certain to ignore, but upon which it had been the constant energy of his long career to insist. We may not even assert that Isaiah was devoted to the centralisation of the national worship. No share in this is imputed to him by the records. His practical genius may have felt that centralisation was necessary for the purity of the religion, but in his old age he may also have foreseen its tendency towards formality and superstition, which seventy years later became obvious to Jeremiah.

Deaths of Ḥezeḳiah and Isaiah: Manasseh's accession.

Whatever may have been the extent of the reforms under Ḥezeḳiah and Isaiah, their stability became endangered by the disappearance of the two personalities, on whom they had depended, soon after the (probable) second Deliverance of the City about 690. Ḥezeḳiah died not

[1] iii. 12.

later than 685, perhaps even a few years earlier,[1] and with him or soon after him Isaiah, whose ministry had lasted more than fifty years. The new king Manasseh was a boy. Aḥaz, who had favoured the religious fashions of the Canaanites and Assyrians, was his grandfather. All the conditions, therefore, made a reaction against the reforms an easy possibility. But to understand the extent as well as the character of the reaction, we must look at the political history of the period.

[1] 2 Kings xxi. 1 assigns 55 years to the reign of Manasseh. If we take 641 as the year of his death, this would fix the death of Ḥezeḳiah in 696 or 695; if we take 638, then Ḥezeḳiah on the Biblical datum lived till 692 (Rost) or 691 (cf. Guthe, *Gesch.* 253). The accession of Taharḳō was in 691, and the probable second Deliverance of Jerusalem, as we have seen, between 691 and 689. Winckler (*K.A.T.*[3] 274) suggests that Manasseh and not Ḥezeḳiah was king of Judah at this time, but there are not sufficient grounds for such a hypothesis. Accepting the Biblical statement that the king of Judah was still Ḥezeḳiah after Taharḳō's accession in 691, two hypotheses become possible: that the second Deliverance took place in 690, that Ḥezeḳiah died immediately after it, and that Manasseh reigned till at least 637, which is not probable; or that there is a mistake of ten years in the datum of 2 Kings xxi. 1, and that we should read 45 instead of 55 as the years of Manasseh's reign. This would give us 683 as the year of Ḥezeḳiah's death, reckoning back from 638 or 639, or 685 reckoning back from 641. According to the Biblical data Ḥezeḳiah reigned 29 years (2 Kings xviii. 2), his sixth year was 722-1, that of the fall of Samaria (*Ibid.* 10), and his fourteenth 701, that of Sennacherib's invasion of Judah (*Ibid.* 13)! To which of these latter contradictory statements are we to adhere? Each has its supporters. Or are we to say both are wrong, and with Winckler and others place Ḥezeḳiah's accession in 720 as we have done above (pp. 130, 148), and his death in 692? The latter, of course, is only possible on the hypothesis that not Ḥezeḳiah but Manasseh was king when Taharḳō advanced on Sennacherib's army in Palestine—a hypothesis for which, as we have said, there are no grounds.

CHAPTER VII

JERUSALEM UNDER MANASSEH

c. 685-640

THERE is no period of Jewish history more full of darkness and vague sound. The record of Manasseh's long reign in the Books of Kings is brief and late; but it is resonant with the echoes both of great movements external to the Jewish state, for the exact course of which the Assyrian annals supply considerable evidence; and of convulsions within Jerusalem, the precipitates from which lie heavy on the memory of the Jewish nation and deeply imbue the substance of their religion.

Ominous Character of Manasseh's Reign.

The record of Manasseh's reign[1] is not even in part an extract from the annals of the kings of Judah, but merely a summary of the king's evil deeds, judged from the Deuteronomic standpoint. Though thus subordinate to a distinct ethical intention, the passage is not a unity. It contains repetitions, and apparently gradual accretions from more than one hand.[2] It presupposes the Exile.[3] On the other hand, many of

The Biblical Record.

[1] 2 Kings xxi. 1-18.

[2] The passage has been variously divided between the two Deuteronomic redactions of the Books of Kings. To the earlier of these Skinner assigns verses 1-6, 16-18, to the other 7-15. To the former Benzinger assigns only 1, 2*a* and 16. For another analysis see *Bks. of Kings* in *S.B.O.T.*, by Stade and Schwally.

[3] Verse 8. Verse 5, because it speaks of *two* courts to the Temple, is also generally taken as post-exilic; but in addition to the forecourt proper

the deeds which it attributes to Manasseh are accredited from other sources: from Deuteronomy and the prophets the revival of Canaanite forms of worship, Baal-altars and Asherôth, with the introduction of the worship of the host of heaven;[1] from Jeremiah, the drenching of Jerusalem with innocent blood.[2]

Manasseh the Vassal of Assyria.

The lateness of this record is in nothing more manifest than in its silence with regard to the Palestine campaigns of Asarḥaddon and Ashurbanipal, and the close traffic of Judah with Assyria which took place during Manasseh's reign. Of all this the record transmits only one clear echo, the introduction of *the worship of the host of heaven*. That cult was Babylonian, and its adoption at this time by Jerusalem was due to the political and social subjection of Judah to Assyria. In spite of the great Deliverance from Sennacherib the Jewish state remained, or early in Manasseh's reign again became, Assyria's vassal. 'Manasseh of Judah' appears twice as an Assyrian tributary: once in 677-6, when among twenty-two kings he paid homage to Asarhaddon as 'king of the *city* of Judah,'[3] and again as one of the same group who furnished 'men and ships in addition to the customary

of Solomon's Temple there was an outer court within the boundary wall of the whole complex of his buildings; cf. 1 Kings vi. 36 with vii. 12. This against Benzinger on 2 Kings xxi. 5.

[1] Deut. iv. 19, xvi. 21 f., xvii. 3; Zeph. i. 5; Jer. viii. 2, xix. 5, 13, xliv. 17 ff.

[2] Jer. xix. 4.

[3] C. H. W. Johns in *Enc. Bibl.* col. 1332; cf. H. F. Talbot, *Records of the Past*, 1st series, iii. 107 (Kouyunjik Inscr. of Asarḥaddon, now in British Museum); and Winckler, *K.A.T.*(2) 87. Col. v. of the 2nd, Nebi Yunus, Inscription of Asarḥaddon (lines 11 to 26) records a review of the twenty-two kings apparently at Nineveh, to which they brought materials for the adornment of the palace (Talbot, *op. cit.* 120). On 'city of Judah,' cf. vol. i. 268.

tribute' on Ashurbanipal's first campaign against Egypt in 668.[1]

In 678 the king of Ṣidon, in alliance with a Cilician prince, revolted from Assyria. Asarḥaddon's vengeance was immediate and complete. He destroyed the ancient city and apparently on another site built a new town, named after himself, in which he established an Assyrian administration and the worship of the Assyrian pantheon.[2] In 676 the arms of Assyria for the first time crossed the border of Egypt, only, however, to suffer defeat.[3] But in 671-670 a second Egyptian campaign was successful, and Egypt became an Assyrian province. When Taharḳō, from the south, recovered it in the following year, Asarḥaddon prepared a third expedition, continued, upon his death (668 or 667) by Ashurbanipal, who within two years had twice to drive back the restless Taharḳō into Ethiopia, suppress an Egyptian revolt, and then capture Thebes from Taharḳō's successor. The fall of Thebes resounded through Western Asia,[4] but failed to place a permanent stamp on the Assyrian power in Egypt, for about 660 or perhaps a few years later[5] Psameṭik I. asserted his independence. Tyre had submitted to Ashurbanipal in 668, and in spite of the Egyptian revolt all Palestine remained quiet for the next decade. Then the revolt of Babylon (652-648) roused the tribes

Campaigns in Palestine and Egypt of Asarḥaddon and Ashurbanipal.

[1] L. W. King, *Enc. Bibl.* coll. 372 f.; cf. Winckler, *K.A.T.*(3) 87. G. Smith, *Rec. of the Past*, 1st series, i. 62, does not give Manasseh's name.

[2] *Hexagonal Prism*, Nebi Yunus Inscr. col. I.

[3] *Babyl. Chron.* iv. 10, 16; see Winckler, *K.A.T.*(3) 88.

[4] Cf. Nahum iii. 8.

[5] 'About 660 (but this is uncertain),' W. Max Müller in the *Enc. Bibl.* col. 1245. Guthe, *Gesch.* 233, puts the date as late as 'about 645.

of Northern Arabia, Edom, Moab and Ḥauran, and even the Phœnicians in Usu and 'Akko; and must have excited Judah and her immediate neighbours, who, however, did not actively rebel. It has been supposed that the historical fact underlying the Jewish Chronicler's account of Manasseh's captivity in Babylon is that, in order to clear himself of the suspicion of complicity in the revolt of 652 onwards, Manasseh paid homage in person to Ashurbanipal, when the latter had at last conquered, and was residing in, Babylon.[1] But it is equally possible to suppose that, as the Chronicler says, Manasseh's temporary residence in Babylon was an enforced one, and this may have taken place earlier. Asarḥaddon's annals seem to imply that the twenty-two kings of Syria and the Levant, of whom Manasseh was one, appeared before him at Nineveh.[2]

Manasseh at Babylon.

Such, so far as Palestine is concerned, is the history of the Assyrian Empire during the long reign of Manasseh. Under Asarḥaddon and Ashurbanipal that Empire reached its widest bounds, and—though the final collapse was near—the summit of its culture and of its ability to impress this upon its subject peoples. Intellectually and religiously the Assyrian culture was Babylonian. Never, since the time of the Tell el-Amarna correspondence, had the civilisation of Mesopotamia so permeated the life of Palestine. We have seen how Asarḥaddon established his officials and

Spread of Babylonian Influence.

[1] So Winckler in *A. T. Untersuchungen*, 122, followed by Benzinger on 2 Chron. xxxiii. 10-13, and Guthe, *Gesch.* 227. Winckler has altered his opinion and placed Manasseh's visit to Babylon under Asarḥaddon: *K.A.T.*(3) 274 f.

[2] See p. 182 *n.* 3.

his gods at Ṣidon,[1] how he and Ashurbanipal organised an Assyrian administration in Egypt, and how Jewish soldiers were brought in to the Assyrian armies. Both monarchs appear to have added to the number of Mesopotamian colonists in Samaria,[2] who introduced the worship of their own gods, and whose influence upon the native customs of the province may be easily imagined by those who have seen the changes effected in social life East of the Jordan through the Circassian colonies introduced by the Turkish Government. Nor are we without contemporary records of Assyrian administration and influence in Palestine during the period. Mr. Macalister has recently discovered at Gezer two cuneiform tablets, deeds of the sale of lands, which there is no reason to suppose are not 'genuine products of the ancient dwellers at Gezer.'[3] The dates of these documents are 651 and 649, and they prove that under Ashurbanipal fields at Gezer, one of which belonged to a man with a Jewish name, Nathaniah, were sold, and the sales were registered, according to Assyrian formulas, in the Assyrian language, and in the one case by a notary with so unmistakable an Assyrian name as Nêrgal-sharuṣur.[4]

It will be observed that while most of these instances

[1] As early as 711 Sargon had introduced some measure of Assyrian administration into Ashdod.

[2] 2 Kings xvii. 24 ff.—which appears to assign this settlement wholly to Sargon after 721, but evidently contains later elements—compared with the Book of Ezra in which the Samaritans assert their descent from colonists settled by Asarḥaddon (iv. 2), and this is also traced to those settled by Osnappar, or Ashurbanipal (iv. 10).

[3] Rev. C. H. W. Johns, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, 206.

[4] Cf. Nergal-sareṣer, one of the princes of the king of Babylon mentioned by Baruch, Jer. xxxix. 3, 13.

of the enforcement of the Assyrian discipline are from the neighbourhood of Judah—Gezer and the Samarian territory were not twenty miles from Jerusalem—two of them are from Judah itself: the visit of Manasseh to Babylon and the employment of Jewish auxiliaries in the Assyrian army. Moreover, the inclusion of all Western Asia and Egypt in one great Empire, which, besides, contained the still active centre of ancient civilisation, must have effected an extraordinary increase of commerce and mental intercourse all the way between the Tigris and the upper Nile, from the influences of which it was impossible that Judah, a tributary of the Empire, could stand aloof. Hence the establishment at Jerusalem of the Babylonish worship *of the host of heaven*—a worship so elaborate and offered to so many deities that its altars may well have spread, as the Biblical historian affirms, over both of the open courts before the Temple.[1]

Its appearance in Judah.

The host of heaven were the sun, moon and stars,[2] and at this time probably added to the significance of one of the most sacred names of the God of Israel: *Jahweh of Hosts*.[3] But because belief in them as real deities had not died out of Israel—compare the language of even those genuine monotheists the authors of Deuteronomy[4]—it was the more easy to introduce their worship into Jerusalem. The first reasons for this were doubtless political. Their altars and rites were the official acknowledgment of the subjection of the Jewish state to the Empire, among whose most popular deities was Ishtar, the planet Venus,

Worship of *the Host of Heaven.*

[1] See above, p. 181 f. *n.* 3.
[2] Deut. iv. 19; xvii. 3.
[3] Originally this had meant God of the armies of Israel.
[4] iv. 19.

'queen of heaven.' That the mass of the population of Jerusalem readily yielded to the attractions of a worship which was performed on arenas they were accustomed to throng, and with which so many of their native instincts and conceptions of the universe were in sympathy, is proved by the evidence alike of the prophets, the legislators and the annalists of Judah. The Book of Deuteronomy twice specially distinguishes the host of heaven as objects which Israel must not let themselves be drawn away to adore.[1] The site of the City, high and open to heaven—within view, too, of the long edge of the Moabite plateau over which the moon and the planets rise with impressive majesty—was particularly suitable for a worship conducted without idols, by direct adoration of its heavenly objects, and by offerings so simple as to be within reach of the poorest worshippers. Accordingly Jeremiah and Zephaniah both record that the cult of the host of heaven spread from the courts of the Temple to the house-tops in Jerusalem;[2] while the former describes the domestic preparation, in which children, fathers and mothers alike engaged, of *cakes* to the Queen of Heaven;[3] and the cakes are called by a name borrowed

[1] iv. 19; xvii. 3.

[2] Jer. xix. 13; Zeph. i. 5.

[3] Jer. vii. 18; cf. xliv. 15 ff. Stade's contentions (*Z.A.T.W.*, 1886, 123 ff., 289 ff.), following the hint of the Massoretic vocalisation of מִלֶּכֶת השמים, that מלכת is an abstract noun signifying *dominion* or *governing powers* of heaven; or an abbreviation for מלאכת *work*, and in either case an equivalent of the name *host of heaven*, have been generally rejected by Assyrian and Hebrew scholars (*e.g.* Schrader, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, iii. 353 ff.; iv. 74 ff.; Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Budde's tr. 186 ff.; G. F. Moore, *Enc. Bibl.* 3992 f.; Zimmern, *K.A.T.*(3) 441). Read therefore with LXX. of xliv. 17, מַלְכַּת, *queen of.* Ishtar is 'queen of heaven,' sharrat shamê; the Hebrew name for the cakes offered to her in Jerusalem, כַּוָּן, is the same as for those offered to Ishtar in Babylonia, kamânu (Zimmern, *loc. cit.*).

from the Assyrian. In recounting Josiah's reforms the annalist says,[1] *he put down . . . them that offered unto the sun, the moon, the mazzālōth and all the host of heaven . . . and he took away the horses that the kings of Judah had set up for the sun at the entrance of the House of Jahweh, by the chamber of Nathan-melek the chamberlain, which was in the precincts, and he burned the chariots of the sun with fire, and the altars which were on the roofs,*[2] *and the altars which Manasseh had made in the two courts of the House of Jahweh. Mazzālōth* is the same word as the Babylonian *manzaltu*. They were either the twelve signs of the zodiac or the divine 'stations' in the heavens.[3] The horses and chariot of the sun were also borrowed from Babylonia.[4] In this case, too, there had been an ancient worship near Jerusalem, the instincts of which had probably not died out of her mixed population and would now spring to welcome its Babylonian analogy. In the fourteenth century Abd-Khiba's letters from Jerusalem mention, within the territory of the City, a place called Bit-Ninib, or house of Ninib, a Babylonian deity regarded as solar.[5]

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 5, 11, 12.

[2] The following phrase, *the upper chamber of Aḥaz*, is from its ungrammatical connection with what precedes obviously a gloss. *The roof* is usually taken to be that of the Temple, but it may well be a collective for the *roofs* from which the domestic worship of the host of heaven took place. In that case the next clause *which the Kings of Judah had made* would be part of the gloss. In itself the plural *kings* raises doubts.

[3] Zimmern, *K.A.T.*(3) 628.

[4] *Id.* 368 ff.

[5] *Id.* 411. Cf. Budde on Judg. i. 34 f., Mount Ḥeres (הַר־חֶרֶס or עִיר־חֶרֶס, Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.* 2019), where he proposes to identify Bit-Ninib with Beth-Shemesh; while Cheyne suggests that Ḥeres is a 'Hebraised form of Uraš, a synonym of the Ass. god Ninib, who is primarily the fierce morning sun (see Jensen, *Kosmol.* 458)'; and connects Ḥeres with 'the gate Ḥarsith,' Jer. xix. 2. On Bit-Ninib see above, pp. 21, 25 *n.* 6; on Beth-Shemesh, 116.

Jerusalem, then, was permeated during Manasseh's reign by the astral worship of Babylonia, which did not merely obtain, for political reasons, a station in the royal sanctuary, but found an eager welcome from many ancient and popular instincts, still unsubdued by the progress of monotheism. Its rites were domesticated in shapes which long outlived the drastic reforms of Josiah.

To the same Assyrian influences we may assign the change which appears soon after this in the Jewish system of dating the year. In earlier times the Israelite year had been the agricultural; it began, as appears from the oldest stratum of the legislation, with the end of autumn and the fall of the early rains.[1] But in the latest legislation and other post-exilic literature we find a system of reckoning the year, as in the Babylonian calendar, from the spring month. The date of this change is usually assigned to the Exile: 'in the Exile,' says Professor Marti, 'comes in the custom of placing the first month in spring.'[2] Yet the custom was already followed by the scribe Baruch. In the narrative of Jeremiah's dictation of the roll of his prophecies, Baruch says he read this in the Temple in the ninth month of the fourth year of Jehoiaḳim, which was a winter month.[3] There is no reason for supposing that the data of the narrative are due to an exilic editor.[4] Taking them as Baruch's own, we see that the influence of the Assyrian

Adoption of the Babylonian Calendar.

[1] The autumn feast, the last of the annual series of festivals, is dated at *the outgoing of the year* (Ex. xxiii. 16) or at *the year's circuit* or *revolution* (Ex. xxxiv. 22).

[2] *Enc. Bibl.* col. 5366.

[3] Jer. xxxvi. 9 and 22; cf. xli. 1.

[4] So Marti would dispose of them; *loc. cit.*

administration during Manasseh's reign extended so far as to impose upon Jewish scribes the Babylonian system of dating the year.[1]

But Manasseh also encouraged the revival of the Canaanite idolatries, which Hezekiah had removed: the worship of the Baalim and the graven image of the Asherah, with the use of the pillars and the Asherôth, soothsaying, necromancy, and the practice of sacrificing children by fire.[2] When we wonder that such a recrudescence of baser cults could happen so speedily after Ḥezekiah's reforms, we must recall the congenital heathenism of Jerusalem on which Ezekiel insists; the prevalence of such forms of worship all round Judah, but especially in Samaria; and also the probable additions to the population from the Judæan towns devastated by Sennacherib in which Canaanite cults still survived, from the Philistine and Phœnician cities that had suffered by the campaigns of Asarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, and from the great increase of trade under the Assyrian lordship of Western Asia.

Revival of Canaanite Idolatries.

From all sides, then, the monotheism proclaimed by Isaiah and established by Hezekiah was, within a few years from their deaths, assailed by forms of polytheism which enjoyed the support both of the supreme political power and of the most ancient popular instincts. We see clearly that the historians and prophets[3] have not exaggerated the extreme peril of Manasseh's reign to the higher religion of Israel, upon the only stage where it was

Extreme peril to the Monotheism of Israel.

[1] Another effect of the Assyrian administration may perhaps be found in the registry of the sale of land recorded in Jer. xxxii.

[2] 2 Kings xxi. 6 ff., xxiii. 5 ff.; cf. Jer. xv. 4.

[3] Cf. Jer. xv. 4, etc.

now possible for that religion to persist. Both the Assyrian devastation of Judah and the reforms of Ḥezeḳiah had tended to confine the worship of Jahweh to Ṣion. And now, when it has no longer behind it that rural population, which we have seen rally to its support in previous crises of its betrayal by its royal patrons, we find the higher faith of Israel exposed within the courts of its own sanctuary to the invasion of rival forms of worship, enforced by the policy of a great Empire and welcomed by the memories of many of the population about it.

Its adherents did not yield without a struggle; but Manasseh met them with the sword. *He shed*, says the historian, *innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from mouth to mouth*[1] of her savage appetite, and Jeremiah testifies that her population was with him; *because they have forsaken me . . . and filled this place with the blood of innocents.*[2] It is strange that there is no echo of this in the Book of Deuteronomy, the authors of which are nowhere troubled by the problem of the sufferings of the righteous. But the problem had come to stay. By its statement in lines of blood upon her streets Jerusalem matriculated in a profounder school of religion than that through which Isaiah had brought her; and by her sufferings at the hands of her own sons was learning a lesson more useful for her mission to humanity than even the truth which her great deliverance from the foreign oppressor had stamped upon her mind. For through

Persecution of its Adherents.

[1] 2 Kings xxi. 16: part of the Deuteronomic text, but the Deuteronomists are not unreliable witnesses of a reign so near their own time as that of Manasseh.

[2] Jer. xix. 4.

all these savage cruelties the nucleus of the true people of God remained loyal, and was purified. Isaiah's *Remnant* became *a Suffering Remnant.* The times forbade the appearance of public prophets. Persecution drove their faith to anonymous methods of expression,[1] to the secret treasuring of earlier prophecies, perhaps also to the codifying of the social and religious teaching of these (which codes were hidden away in the Temple against the recurrence of happier times[2]), and certainly to more spiritual and personal communion with their God. While the majority of her people gave way to the heathen customs and rites which Manasseh had introduced, and delivered to the next generation a number of men and women with totem names,[3] there were still in Jerusalem families who feared the Lord, and, as we see from the genealogies of the prophets in Josiah's reign, dedicated their children to His Name.

The Suffering Remnant.

Nor did they fail to learn from their oppressors and from the systems of belief which threatened to destroy their own. The Babylonian religion had nothing ethical to teach to the disciples of Amos, Hosea and Isaiah. But, if we may judge from the subsequent use of Babylonian literature in the cosmogonies and psalms of Israel, there entered her religion at this time from that foreign source new impressions of the order and processes of the universe with fresh explanations of the beginnings of history and culture, all of which the Spirit of her God enabled her to use for His glory and to interpret in the light

Intellectual Gain from Babylon.

[1] *E.g.* 'Micah,' vi. 6-8.
[2] 2 Kings xxii. 8 ff.
[3] *E.g.* Huldah, *Weasel*; Shaphan, *Badger*; 'Achbor, *Mouse.*

of those purposes of grace and righteousness which He had long revealed to her. The Assyrian dominance of Jerusalem during Manasseh's reign was thus not altogether for loss to the higher religion, against which it provoked so cruel a reaction. While the faith of the righteous was purified by the sufferings it imposed, the intellect of the people was fertilised by the ideas it introduced. Their observation of the universe was stimulated, and their habits of writing and recording were developed.

Probable Increase of the Population of Jerusalem.

We have already touched a number of reasons for a considerable increase in the population of the City since 701: the devastation of the rest of the land in that year,[1] Ḥezeḳiah's attempt to centralise the national worship, the peace of Judah during the long reign of Manasseh, while neighbouring lands were harried by Assyrian armies, the introduction of the Babylonian cults, and the increase of trade across Western Asia.

Evidence for the Growth of the City's Trade.

For the large share which Jerusalem took in the trade of Palestine during the seventh century, we have three independent testimonies. First, there is the presence of commercial regulations in the Book of Deuteronomy, as contrasted with their absence from the earlier legislation.[2] Second, there is the epithet, *gate of the peoples*, applied to Jerusalem by Ezekiel[3] in his description of Tyrian commerce. And third, there is the reason, which the king of Persia gave

[1] Compare the parallel case during Nebuchadrezzar's invasion, Jer. xxxv. 11.

[2] For details see § 54 of 'Trade and Commerce' by the present writer in the *Enc. Bibl.*, column 5175.

[3] xxxvi. 2; LXX.

for his veto upon the rebuilding of the City's walls in the time of Zerubbabel: *there have been mighty kings over Jerusalem . . . and tribute, custom and toll was paid unto them.*[1] Whether the terms imposed by Assyria reserved to Manasseh those rights of levying customs at his frontiers which the kings of Judah, both before and after him, thus appear to have enjoyed, we do not know; but at least he and his subjects would benefit in other ways from the immense increase of traffic caused by the inclusion of Egypt and Western Asia under one Empire. The political rank of Jerusalem secured to her the chief markets of the internal commerce of Judah, as well as the gifts which it was customary for foreign traders to leave with the lords of the territories they visited;[2] and thus in spite of the commercial disadvantages of its site the City must have become a considerable emporium.

From all these causes the increase of the population is certain, the incomers being largely accommodated in the new quarters of which we first hear from Zephaniah. But the circuit of the walls was not widened. No achievement of this kind is attributed to Manasseh. The Chronicler, drawing upon a source which there is no reason to doubt, tells us that Manasseh built an outer wall to the 'City of David' on the steep slope *to the west of Gihon in the valley* of the Kidron, and that it extended *to the entrance of the Fish-Gate* which lay on the north. *He compassed about the 'Ophel and raised it up a very great height.*[3] The only other topographical notice is that of the king's burial.

New Quarters and Walls of the City.

[1] Ezra iv. 20.

[2] See vol. i. 343 *n.* 3.

[3] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14; see vol. i. 208.

Hezeḳiah is the last king said to have been buried in the royal sepulchres. They laid Manasseh *in the garden of his own house, the garden of* 'Uzza or 'Uzziah. Here also his son Amon was buried after a reign of little over one year. These, and perhaps Josiah's, are the graves of the kings which Ezekiel condemns as too near the sacred precincts of the Temple.[1] Was the new site for the royal burials due to some of the novel religious ideas introduced under Manasseh?

From 701 Jerusalem began to assume that excessive predominance which gradually rendered the rest of the country but the fringe of her walls. We shall see this in several of Jeremiah's allusions. Meantime it is perhaps worth repeating that Manasseh is described by Asarḥaddon as king not of the land, but 'of the City, of Judah.'[2]

[1] Ezekiel xliii. 7-9.

[2] Above, vol. i. 268; vol. ii. 182.

CHAPTER VIII

JOSIAH: JERUSALEM AND DEUTERONOMY

c. 638-608 B.C.

DURING the long reign of Manasseh, *c.* 685-640, the land of Judah had time to recover from the devastation of 701. What became of the 200,000 captives whom Sennacherib claims to have taken,[1] how many he carried to Assyria and how many his sudden departure forced him to release, we do not know. But the numbers of the slain must have been large, and it is certain that of his captives and of those who fled before him to Jerusalem, not all were able to return to their lands. In any case the rural economy was radically disturbed. An invasion such as Sennacherib wrought upon Judah—and its drastic character is emphasised both by himself and by Isaiah[2]—had effects far more terrible than the modern conditions of warfare allow us to conceive. In those times wars were waged not between armies alone, but between peoples and between their gods. The inexhaustible jealousy of the latter infected their worshippers and sanctioned the uttermost ruthlessness. Women and children were savagely treated. Whole families, sometimes whole communities, were destroyed or carried into exile. The fields

Recovery of Judah under Manasseh.

[1] See above, p. 160.

[2] Ch. i.

were wasted, the very seed was burned. The local cults were broken up, and with them the pieties, the rights, the entire framework of society, which they controlled and defended. On the disappearance of the invader, these disasters to a nation became the opportunity of the more energetic and unscrupulous survivors. It happened almost always that lands formerly possessed by many individuals passed into the hands of a few, and only seldom that the domains of a slain or an exiled land-holder were divided among his serfs or adherents. Additional consequences may be attributed to Sennacherib's war. Some of the Jewish domains which he wasted must, as so often in the history of Palestine, have been seized by the nomad tribes which have always hovered on the borders of the cultivated territory; and some fell to the Philistines. Even in those which remained to the Jews, the fact that it was the God of Israel whom Sennacherib had seemed to defeat may have shaken His authority with many of the Jewish rustics, and led to a recrudescence of Canaanite forms of worship.[1] The religion of the rural districts thus tended to become more confused and impure than before. Upon this state of affairs descended the long peace and prosperity of Manasseh's reign,[2] repairing the material ravages of Sennacherib's invasion but not the religious confusion. By 625 the rural population of Judah was again large. From 'Anathôth Jeremiah heard across the land the noise of much people[3] and saw idolatrous shrines everywhere—*as many as thy cities so be thy gods, O Judah, where hast thou not*

[1] Witness the similar feelings among Jews after the devastations by Nebuchadrezzar.

[2] See above, pp. 193 f.

[3] iii. 21 (?), 23 ff., etc.

been defiled?[1] Yet this part of the nation was not without considerable moral force. Of the second group of Judæan prophets, Jeremiah himself, and perhaps Nahum, came from the villages, and, as we shall see, the Deuteronomic legislation is strongly influenced by provincial interests. The capital, of course, retained its lead, but when a party of officials slew Amon, son of Manasseh, it was *the people of the land*[2] who executed the murderers, and, as in the case of 'Uzziah, raised the murdered man's son to the throne.

Political Motives for the Murder of Amon.

The motives of the intrigue against Amon are not clear. Manasseh's persecutions, apparently confined to Jerusalem, must have created a bitterness against his house, which would naturally become effective under his weaker successor. But the conspiracy is said to have been formed among *the servants of Amon*, and was therefore more probably due to political opinions,[3] restrained so long as Manasseh lived and no alternative was possible to the Assyrian supremacy. By the time Manasseh died Psametik of Egypt had thrown off the Assyrian yoke,[4] and according to a credible tradition was already interfering in south-eastern Palestine.[5] The Egyptian party at the court of Jerusalem, which had controlled affairs towards the close of the previous century and was again active about 625,[6]

[1] ii. 28, iii. 2; cf. iii. 9, xi. 13, etc.

[2] 2 Kings xxi. 24: it does not seem to be exclusive of the population of Jerusalem; though Kittel renders it by 'the party of the country people.'

[3] This seems to me more probable than Kittel's explanation that it was adherents of the purer religion who killed Amon.

[4] 'Before 660,' Rogers' *Hist. of Bab. and Assyria*, ii. 254. 'It may have been about 660, but this is uncertain,' W. Max Müller, *Enc. Bibl.* art. 'Egypt.' 'Certainly by 645,' M'Curdy, *Hist. Proph. and the Monuments*, ii. 355.

[5] Herodotus, ii. 151.

[6] Jer. ii. 18, 36.

but lay powerless during the reign of Manasseh, may have sought by the death of Amon to remove the chief obstacle to their policy. Or his courtiers may have had some private grudge against him. In any case the motives of the conspirators were not economic; their punishment by *the people of the land* proves how contented the latter had been under the government of Manasseh.

There is no evidence that the elevation of Amon's eight-year old son, Josiah,[1] was due to the party of the purer religion, formed by Isaiah. But from the first that party had included many of the leading men in Jerusalem,[2] and, in spite of its decimation by Manasseh, probably retained some adherents of high rank. After the murder of Amon, the slaughter of the king's *servants*, nominees of Manasseh, may have opened to such influential followers of the prophets several offices at court. It was certainly to the advantage of their principles that the new king was too young to have been trained in the policy of Manasseh. At the age of eight he was chiefly under the care of the women of the household;[3] and through them, or some of his ministers or some of the priests, his character, on which so much depended, was moulded by the principles of his great-grandfather, Hezekiah. There must also have been sober and con-

Accession of Josiah, *c.* 637.

[1] 2 Kings xxi. 24, xxii. 1.

[2] Smend, *A. T. Religionsgeschichte.*

[3] His mother was Yedidah, daughter of 'Adayah of Bozkath (mentioned with Lakîsh and Eglon, Josh. xv. 39). His own name, like that of the latter (?), was compounded with the name of Jahwe' Yoshiyahu = *Jahweh supports*: in contrast, be it noted, with those of his father Amon and his grandfather Manasseh, both of which may be derived from other gods. That Manasseh and Amon alone break a long list of Judæan kings named after Jahweh is significant.

servative Jews who, though their minds did not appreciate the spiritual doctrine of the prophets, revolted against the foreign cults and cruelties of Manasseh, and who were ready to welcome the restored supremacy of the national God. And there was always the party favourable to Egypt. But so long as the Assyrian domination remained effective—Ashurbanipal had apparently accepted Josiah as his vassal—no one of these parties nor all of them together could carry their desires into action. The Assyrian sovereignty both awed and divided them. While it remained there would be many who feared it, and some, among the prophetic party, who, following Isaiah, would judge rebellion or the appeal to Egypt, which others proposed, as an impious course for the Lord's people to pursue. The various parties could, therefore, only wait and prepare, each in its own way and perhaps by some compromise with the others, for a change in the political situation. Of this there were many omens. The Assyrian Empire, apparently as strong as ever at its centre, was suffering in its extremities. Egypt was independent, and her forces, increased by Greek and Carian mercenaries, threatened the southern provinces; while swift and terrible hordes, races new to history, stirred upon the northern frontier. During the youth of Josiah all Jews must have gathered hope and courage, but the eyes of their various factions rested upon different rifts in the horizon. At last in 625, by the death of Ashurbanipal, a gap was suddenly opened wide enough for all to move forward together, and a religious influence descended under which they became for the first time since Ḥezeḳiah's death a united nation.

The editor of the Books of Kings dates the beginning of Josiah's reforms in the eighteenth year of his reign, 621 or 620 B.C.[1] The previous repair of the Temple which he records was a periodical function instituted by Joash.[2] The Chronicler asserts that the reforms began earlier. He dates the king's adhesion to the purer religion in the eighth year of his reign, and the *commencement*[3] of the destruction of the high-places and the idols in the twelfth year, and says that the work was complete by the eighteenth when the Temple was repaired and the Book of the Law discovered. But if the king had already achieved such drastic reforms, there was no cause for the consternation ascribed to him when the Book was read. We must therefore prefer the statement in Kings, that the high places and idols began to be removed *after* the discovery of the Book. Still the definite dates of the Chronicler, read in the light of the history of the time, suggest that he worked upon reliable material. The eighth year of Josiah's reign was the sixteenth of his life, when we may suppose that his character was formed and he began to assert himself. And the twelfth year of his reign was 626

Reforms under Josiah: their Record.

[1] 2 Kings xxii. 3. The narrative of the reforms lasts till xxiii. 25. It contains some editorial and other intrusions. Stade and Schwally (*S.B.O.T.*) excise the following: xxii. 6 f. (from xii. 9 ff.), 15-20, Huldah's prophecy (but see below, p. 203 *n.* 1), part of 3 from the Deuteronomic editor; 10*b*, last clause, 5, 8*b*, 10, 12, last clause, 13-20, 24 f.

[2] Erbt, *Die Sicherstellung des Monotheismus durch die Gesetzgebung im Vorexil. Juda* (1903), assumes that Josiah ordered a reconstruction (Umbau) of the Temple, and illustrates, what he believes must have followed from this on the discovery of its foundation-stone and the documents of its constitution (Urkunde), from Babylonian parallels. But there is no evidence of so thorough a rebuilding. On Joash, see above, pp. 107 ff.

[3] Josiah *began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places, the Asherim, the graven images*, etc., 2 Chron. xxxiv. 2 ff.

or 625, the year of Ashurbanipal's death, which, as we have seen, left Judah more free to govern herself.

We may therefore infer that with the gradual growth of opportunity, as depicted above, the stages of the movement under Josiah were three. *First*, there was the king's adolescence and his adhesion to the purer religion. Whatever influences brought this about, the personal fact is too well credited to remain doubtful. Between the kings who preceded and those who followed him, Josiah stands by himself, and we need not hesitate to ascribe to him, as both his historians do, that power of personality which it is so easy but so fallacious to ignore in religious movements.[1] *Second*, there were some tentative efforts at reform after 625, when Ashurbanipal's death gave Josiah and his counsellors political freedom; but the king and all the parties may have been too dazzled by the sudden opportunity and too much at variance among themselves to effect at once a decisive change. *Third*, in 621 or 620, a sacred Law-Book was discovered in the Temple which not only did justice in its details to the various national interests, but by its general spirit impressed all their representatives with the awe of a supreme religious obligation.[2] It is

Their three Stages and Motives.

1. The Character of Josiah.

2. The Death of Ashurbanipal.

3. The Discovery of the Law-Book.

[1] Since the above was published in the *Expositor* for November 1905, Cornill in *Das Buch Jeremia* has done full justice to the character and influence of Josiah: the best study of the king, see pp. xiii, etc.

[2] Erbt (*op. cit.*) and Dr. John Cullen (*The Book of the Covenant in Moab: a Critical Enquiry into the Original Form of Deuteronomy* Glasgow, Maclehose, 1903) both do justice, upon the Chronicler's data, to the gradual character of the movement. Cullen (p. 17): 'The author of Kings has telescoped into one account a series of reforms.' Erbt (p. 8) places the first stage at the accession of Josiah, yet, as we have seen, there is no

this religious influence, gathered from the prophets of the eighth century, fostered by loyal hearts under Manasseh, and giving itself forth as divine, to which the great Reform, the establishment of Monotheism in Israel, was essentially due. It acted on the priests of the Temple, on a king whose character was predisposed to receive it, and through them on the whole people of Judah, at a time when the political situation was favourable to its national enforcement. Without the Divine call and the faith of the men who received it, the political situation, the compromises of parties, and the wonderful adaptation of the Law itself to the rival ecclesiastical and social interests, would have availed little. The effect upon the nation was immediate and complete. The king was overcome by the denunciations against the neglect of its laws which the Book contained. Further moved by a message from the prophetess Ḥuldah,[1] he gathered *the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem* to the Temple and had the Book read in their hearing. Then with due sacrificial forms, and as the representative of the people, he *made a covenant* before God to keep the words of the Book, *and all the people stood to the covenant*.[3]

There can be little doubt that the discovered Book which formed the basis of this national covenant was

evidence that this was due to the spiritual party in Judah; and does not accept as reliable the Chronicler's first datum in Josiah's conversion, but takes it as a mere easy assumption that the king's adolescence was marked by his adhesion to the prophetic principles: yet here, as elsewhere, Erbt seems to me to ignore too much the personality of Josiah.

[1] 2 Kings xxii. 15-20. Ḥuldah's oracle as here given is probably not in its original form, but the fact that it predicts a peaceful death for Josiah, who fell in battle at Megiddo, is proof that some at least of the original contents have been preserved.

[3] 2 Kings xxiii. 1-3.

part at least of our Book of Deuteronomy. Such a conclusion is independent of the question of its origin and inevitable upon the evidence of the Biblical narrative. For the discovered Book is called by the names which Deuteronomy uses for itself: the *Book of the Law*, the *Book of the Covenant*. The consternation of Josiah when he heard it read and the urgency of his measures to fulfil its commands are adequately explained by the stern temper of Deuteronomy and its denunciations not only of foreign cults but of practices hitherto followed by the worship of Israel, whether in the Temple or throughout the land. The reforms which Josiah introduced correspond to the requirements of Deuteronomy as they do not to those of the other codes of Israel; in particular, the removal of the high-places of Jahweh and the concentration of His worship in the Temple, which Josiah was the first to carry out, are the central and most distinctive principles of the Deuteronomic system. We have seen, too, how so radical a measure as this centralising of the worship was facilitated and prepared for by the events of the history between the building of the Temple and the time of Josiah;[1] and how by the latter date they had also become necessary for the purity of Israel's religion and the assurance of monotheism.[2] And, finally, it is precisely from this time onward that the style and phraseology

The discovered Law-book part at least of Deuteronomy.

[1] The building of the Temple; the possession of the Ark and the purest form of Israel's worship; their identification with the house of David, the one permanent dynasty in Israel; the growth of the Temple in resources and influence; the fall of the Northern Kingdom; Isaiah's views on the Temple; the Assyrian devastation of all the other sanctuaries of Judah; the vindication of the Temple in 701 as the one inviolable sanctuary of Jahweh.

[2] See above, pp. 176 f., and below, pp. 212 f., 219 f.

which are characteristic of Deuteronomy begin to affect the literature of Israel.[1]

But how much of our Book of Deuteronomy the discovered Law-Book contained it is difficult and perhaps impossible to determine. The whole of Deuteronomy in the form in which we now have it can hardly have been extant by 621. Parts of the canonical text are held by some to presuppose the Exile and echo exilic writers, while parts have been taken from sources of the Pentateuch other than the Deuteronomist.[2] But not even is the rest of the Book an obvious unity. It consists of a Code of Laws with denunciations of those who transgress them (chapters xii.-xxvi., xxviii.) and two separate introductions of a hortatory and historical character (chapters i.-iii., iv. 1-40, and chapters iv. 45-xi.). The existence of these divisions,

The Structure of Deuteronomy.

[1] For the fuller exhibition of these proofs the English reader is referred to the translation of Wellhausen's *Prolegomena to the Hist. of Isr.*; Robertson Smith's *O.T.J.C.*(2) (with his *Additional Answer to the Libel*, 1878, and *Answers to the Amended Libel*, 1879); Driver's 'Deuteronomy' and the articles by Ryle in Hastings' *D.B.*, and Moore in the *Enc. Bibl.* Recent attempts to question these proofs cannot be pronounced successful: *Are the Critics Right?* by Möller (tr. by Irwin, 1903); 'The Date of Deuteronomy,' by Kennett, *Jour. of Theol. Studies*, 1904. The latter would date the Book in the sixth cent. by seeking to show the dependence of the Deuteronomic language on Jeremiah; by pointing out features in our Book of Deuteronomy suitable to the Exile (this has never been doubted); and (p. 492) explaining Josiah's consternation by some denunciation of sacrifice by one of the prophets, and his preservation of sacrifice at the Temple alone by the fact that it was his own royal chapel!

[2] iv. 1-40 is held by many to be not connected with i.-iii., varying from these chapters both in its substance and in its diction, which recalls that of Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Priestly Document; but this is questionable; xxix. 2-xxx. Eng. = xxix. 1.-xxx. Heb. is separated from what precedes it by the formal close of the latter, xxix. 1 Eng. = xxviii. 69 Heb., and its diction recalls that of Jeremiah. The long poem in xxxii. has also traces of the Exile. In xxvii., xxxi., xxxiv. are pieces from E. and J., earlier than the Deuteronomist and from P. later.

each with its own title and with some distinctions of substance and diction,[1] has made possible several theories of their relation to each other and to the primitive Deuteronomy. On the one hand emphasis has been laid on the fact that the Book discovered in the Temple was a Law-Book, and the conclusion has been drawn that this consisted of the Code alone, which furnished the programme for Josiah's reforms, the hortatory and historical introductions being added by a later writer or writers of the same school.[2] On the other hand, it has been argued that the hortatory sections by themselves were the more likely to have inspired the reforms, and that the Code is the precipitate or codification of these.[3] Between such extremes there is a more reasonable mean. *The Book of the Law* found in the Temple and inspiring the Reforms of Josiah, must have contained some laws—the abolition of images, the abolition of the high-places of Jahweh, and the centralisation of His worship—such as we find in the Code; but a Code so obviously due to prophetic influence may well have had a prophetic introduction and explanation attached to it. These are supplied by the section iv. 45-xi., which besides in standpoint and style very closely agrees with the Code. On such grounds many take the primitive Deuteronomy to have been chapters iv. 45-xxvi. of our Book along with the substance at least of xxviii., the denunciations in which would account for Josiah's terror when the Book was read to him.[4] Some

[1] The unity of the Book is arguable, but that the evidence for it is 'overwhelming' (Orr, *Problem of the Old Testament*, p. 253) cannot be maintained upon a full consideration of the above facts.

[2] Wellhausen, Stade and others.

[3] Cullen, *The Book of the Covenant in Moab*. He takes v. 29-xi. 28 and some other passages to have been the original discovered in the Temple.

[4] Kuenen, Dillmann, Driver, Moore, Budde (virtually), and others.

would add the other introduction i.-iii., with its separate title but somewhat varying diction and standpoint; others would take i.-iii. as originally the introduction to a variant edition of the Code. That there was more than one such edition of the Deuteronomic laws is rendered probable by an analysis of the Code, which discovers doublets or different forms of the same laws.[1] The double fashion in which the people are addressed, now as *thou* and now as *you*, which runs through both the hortatory and legal sections, would not of course by itself prove different styles; but these two forms of address so often coincide with different phraseologies for the same events, and with different conceptions of the previous history of Israel, that the coincidence can hardly be accidental, and the probability is that they are frequently the work of different authors. These materials, however, have been so interwoven with each other, and the text has undergone so much revision, that an exact analysis of its constituents is no longer possible. But enough is clear to let us see that the original Deuteronomy was composed from more than one source, or alternatively that there were several variant editions of it;[2] and this complicates the already difficult question of the origin and date of the Book.

The full discussion of the question is beyond the scope of our present task. It is only necessary to recall the

[1] *E.g.* xii., the law of the central sanctuary (here there are traces of four laws); the laws of the cities of refuge and others.

[2] The analysis of Deuteronomy according to the *Thou* and *You* forms of address was first made by Steuernagel and by Staerk about 1894. Another was given by Mitchell in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1899, 61 ff.; and another by the present writer in a paper before the Oxford Society of Historical Theology in 1902.

main proofs upon which the late date of Deuteronomy is now so widely accepted, and to express the conviction that to fix that date exactly is a task for which we have no sufficient material.

Proofs of the Late Date of Deuteronomy.

The evidence for the late date of Deuteronomy consists of the perspective in which it views the time of Moses;[1] its implication that the monarchy has long been in existence; its reflection of a more elaborate economy than is shown in the earlier legislation; its polemic against forms of idolatry prevalent in Israel during the Assyrian period; and (most of all) the testimony of the historical books that up to the end of the eighth century the religious practice of Israel neither conformed, nor sought to conform, to the Deuteronomic prohibition of pillars in the worship of Jahweh and insistence on a single sanctuary;[2] while the appearance of such provisions just about this date is naturally explained by the events and processes in the previous history of Jerusalem which we have seen leading up to them and by the practical necessities of the monotheism. Besides, Deuteronomy is clearly inspired by the eighth-century prophets.

[1] In the title to the second introduction, iv. 46, Israel's defeat of Sîḥon is described as happening *after their coming forth out of Egypt*, and in the Code, xxiii. 4, it is said that Israel was not given bread and water by 'Ammon and Moab *in their coming out of Egypt*. These expressions could not have been used by one speaking to Israel a few weeks or months after 'Ammon's and Moab's refusal and the war with Sîḥon; but they are natural to a writer to whom the whole forty years of wandering were foreshortened by the distance at which he lived from them.

[2] The earlier legislation permits sacrifice to Jahweh at many places (Ex. xx. 24), and does not forbid the maṣṣeboth or *pillars*. In harmony with this is the testimony of the historical books. Elijah and other religious leaders either build or permit altars to Jahweh in a way that renders the existence of the Deuteronomic Code in their days inconceivable. Ḥezeḳiah is the first king who is said to have attempted the removal of the high-places, Jeremiah the first prophet to declaim against *the pillars*.

On these grounds the conclusion is reasonable that the code or codes from which Deuteronomy is compiled were constructed towards the end of the eighth or during the seventh century. A more exact date is not within our reach. Some regard as the most probable time the reign of Manasseh, when the adherents of the purer religion, prevented from carrying out their principles in the worship of the Temple, betook themselves to the codification of these against the arrival of happier times. For this there is much to be said; yet the fact that Deuteronomy nowhere reflects the division of the people into a persecuting majority and a suffering remnant, but consistently treats Israel as a moral whole, seems to the present writer a strong argument against a date in Manasseh's reign. The alternatives to this are the years after and the years before Manasseh. In the early reign of Josiah the *rapprochement* of the rival parties in Jerusalem may explain Deuteronomy's silence upon national divisions. But if, as we have seen, Ḥezeḳiah's reforms were in the direction of the Deuteronomic requirements, we may trace the beginnings at least of the Deuteronomic legislation to the end of his reign, by which time both its political and its religious premises were already in existence.[1] Possibly different essays were made at different points between the middle of Ḥezeḳiah's and the middle of Josiah's reign.

We must emphasise, however, that what these reformers did was not to create a body of fresh and novel laws. The dependence of Deuteronomy upon the earlier legisla-

[1] As the present writer suggested in reviewing Driver's *Deuteronomy* in the *Critical Review* for 1895, vol. v. 339 ff. Erbt, following Steuernagel, distinguishes two Deuteronomic codes, one under Ḥezeḳiah and one under Josiah.

tion of Israel is very apparent.[1] But both codes reveal their development from far older sources. The similarity of their provisions to the customs and rites of the surrounding peoples indicates that early Israel in common with these, and by virtue of her Semitic descent, had inherited a body of consuetudinary law. Upon this had become operative the higher ethical influences of the revelation which through Moses God had made of Himself as the national God of Israel. How real and how great the service of Moses had been is proved not only by all the lines of the people's historical tradition, but by the later fame which has attributed to him the sole authorship of the legislation. But Moses did not complete the elevating and purifying process. By Israel's living faith in a living God this continued through the subsequent centuries. We have seen it at work under the kings and priests of Judah;[2] it was no less active through the early prophets of the north. Then came the further revelation of God by the prophets of the eighth century, and the light which this reflected alike on the religious practices of the nation and the new temptations which came to them from abroad. Simultaneously the possibilities of conserving and developing these religious gains from so long a divine guidance were being manifestly limited by the events of history to Jerusalem and the Temple. For so great a crisis, for so divine a call, a gifted school of writers in Judah were found sufficient. Equally alive to the real origins of their religion under Moses and to the workings of God's Spirit in their own day, they recast

Deuteronomy's Service to Religion.

[1] For details see the introduction to Driver's *Deuteronomy*, § ii., especially pp. viii. ff.

[2] Above, pp. 74, 90, 94 ff., 113 ff., etc.

the ancient laws of Israel in the temper of the prophets and with regard to the changed historical conditions of the nation. In particular they were concerned with some religious practices which their fathers had pursued without questioning, but which recent experience had shown to be dangerous to a spiritual faith; as well as with certain foreign forms of idolatry, Canaanite and Babylonian, which were beginning to fascinate the people or to be imposed upon them by their subjection to Assyria. Hence the sincerity, the vitality, the power of the work they produced. Deuteronomy is a living and a divine Book, because, like every other religious reformation in which God's spirit may be felt, it is at once loyal to the essential truth revealed in the past, while daring to cast off all tradition however ancient and sacred that in practice has become dangerous and corruptive; vigilant to the new perils and exigencies of faith and receptive of the fresh directions of the living God for their removal or conquest.

The Book of Deuteronomy, then, applies the revelation of the eighth-century prophets to the life and consuetudinary law of Israel: interpreting the people's history, modifying their institutions, regulating their daily habits, inspiring their individual hearts and minds, and dealing in addition with the latest features of their political and economic development. The governing principle of the Book is Monotheism, slightly qualified, it is true, by current popular conceptions, and limited in its applications by the practical necessities of the time; yet so earnestly moral and warmly spiritual in its exposition of the relation between God and the people, that our Lord has

The Principle of Deuteronomy: the One God.

accepted one of its central expressions as the supreme law of religion: *Hear, O Israel, Jahweh thy God is one Jahweh, and thou shalt love Jahweh thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.* He is to be loved because He is Love. His grace in the choice of Israel, His tenderness in their guidance and training, with the high moral destiny He has conceived for them, are urged upon the people in language of extraordinary power and beauty. Therefore He alone is God: the one and only Deity by His character and deeds of love and power. The worship of every other god is absolutely forbidden, and, in the spirit of the times, on the penalty of death. Equally excluded is the representation of the Deity in any material form; and His ritual is purged of all immoral elements, *abominations* as they are called: images, *maṣṣeboth*, Asherim, all tainted and foolish rites, all mutilations of the body and unclean practices, all witchcraft and necromancy. The whole of the practice of religion is winnowed and ordered by a spirit as certain of its own reasonableness as it is passionately pure and, in most directions, humane.

The Central Law: the One Altar.

The distinctive feature of Deuteronomy, however, is the centralisation of the national worship. We have already seen how inevitable a corollary this was to the ethical monotheism of the prophets. The ritual of Israel's religion had always been a menace to its intellectual and moral elements, partly because men are ever disposed to assign to the performance of rites a higher place in the Divine will than they do to morality, and partly because the rites used by Israel were akin to those of the religions around them, and thus constantly tempted the worshippers to confuse the character

of their God with the characters of others. That is why the prophets of the eighth century did not refrain from demanding the abolition of all sacrifice and ritual. Instead of this the practical reformers of the seventh century proposed their limitation to one place, not only in order to secure the purity of the ritual but to avert that dissolution of the Divine Unity which was almost inseparable in the popular mind from the identification of God with many sanctuaries. Therefore, besides enforcing the extirpation of the cult of every other god from the land, Deuteronomy decrees the destruction of all the *bamoth* or *high-places* at which Jahweh Himself was worshipped, and confines His sacrifices and the celebration of His feasts to a single sanctuary. Such a measure was not, as some recent writers labour to prove, the invention of any interested locality or corporation of priests, and it could never have been carried out by mere party motives, however powerful or skilfully organised. The removal of the high-places was nothing less than a religious and ethical necessity, demanded in the name of the One God, and proved by the bitter experience of centuries. Unless we appreciate this we shall not understand how so great a revolution in the national worship was so successfully effected in Judah, without serious opposition from the interests which it disturbed.

The ideal of the Book is political as well as religious. The establishment of many idolatries in Jerusalem had been the sacramental token of the nation's servitude to a foreign power. But the Deuteronomic Israel is a free people, owning no overlord save their God, and governing themselves in obedience to His revealed will. This will is applied, we shall

Its Political Outlook: the One People.

immediately see, to every department of the national life in as comprehensive a system of national religion as the world has ever known. Yet the system is limited to Israel. Beyond directions for the admission to the covenant of individual Edomites and Egyptians,[1] there is no attempt to deal with the world outside. There is no missionary programme, no provision for mankind. This may not have been practical in the conditions of the time but in any case its omission is one of the limitations of the monotheism of the Book that have been already referred to. Next to devotion to the national Deity comes pride in the nation itself: a pride, of course, subject to the austere moral conditions imposed on its life. As there is one Jahweh so there is one Israel, the only righteous people and wise above all others. For no other possesses a religion or laws so high and so pure. The intellectual tempers of monotheism—the sense of a loftier mental position, the scorn of idolatry—appear if not in the original Deuteronomy, yet in its immediate additions. *Keep therefore and do them, for this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the peoples, which shall hear all these statutes and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people. For what great nation is there that hath God so nigh to them as Jahweh our God is whensoever we call upon Him? And what great nation is there that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law which I set before you this day? Jahweh hath avouched thee to be a peculiar people to Himself . . . and to make thee high above all nations, which He hath made, in praise, renown and honour.*[2]

[1] xxiii. 3-8: against which note the frequent command to extirpate other peoples, *e.g.* xxv. 17 ff.

[2] iv. 6 ff.; xxvi. 18.

Its Sufficiency and Ethical Absolutism: the One Book (?)

Further, there is the frequent insistence by Deuteronomy upon its absolute sufficiency for Israel. The Word of God is no more *hidden*, nor has its meaning or interpretation to be brought *from afar*. The Word has come *very nigh* to the people, *in their mouth and heart*. All that remains is to practise it: *that thou mayest do it*.[1] Some maintain that its authors even conceive of Deuteronomy as the exhaustive and final revelation of God to His people, and quote the verses: *ye shall not add to the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish it; whatsoever thing I am commanding you, observe to do it*: *thou shalt not add thereto nor diminish it*.[2] Now it would indeed be a paradox if Deuteronomy, the fruit of a long development of religion, the manifest proof in all its parts of the progressive character of revelation, had thus foreclosed the question of further progress and shut the mouth of prophecy for ever. But this is not so, as its own words explicitly prove: *I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth and he shall speak unto them all that I command him*.[3] Yet while we must acquit the Book itself of regarding revelation as finally complete, this was exactly what its words almost immediately led their readers to do. The legal mind forgot the promise of a new prophet, and interpreted the other sayings we have quoted as if the Book were the final and exhaustive Word of God. Men fastened upon and worshipped the very letter of it, opposing and preferring the written revelation to the new and living word which Jeremiah brought to them. As Dr. Davidson remarks: 'Pharisaism and

[1] xxx. 11-14. [2] iv. 2; xii. 32. [3] xviii. 15-19.

Deuteronomy came into the world the same day.'[1] The rise of this narrow temper was also assisted by the Deuteronomists' constant and vigorous conjunction of righteousness with good fortune. They were not without the perception that God sometimes afflicted His people for the purpose of testing and humbling them. So far as it refers to the nation's past, they have expressed this truth in language of exquisite beauty.[2] But for the future they insist unwearyingly and without qualification on the certainty that righteousness will bring prosperity, but wickedness ill-fortune; and that it is the *doing* of the Law, the observance of its manifold laws both ethical and ceremonial, which comprises the duty, and will ensure the political and economic stability, of the people. Such sayings the predecessors of Pharisaism hardened into a dogma, the contradiction of which by the facts of experience led to the rise of scepticism in Israel—a scepticism that we find first expressed by Jeremiah[3] and Habaḳḳuḳ.

The Great Width of the Book's Interest and Care.

But while confined to Israel, and exhibiting the other limitations we have defined, Deuteronomy covers every department of the national life—not the worship alone, nor merely the duties and rights of the Priesthood, but the monarchy, the discharge of justice, the character and judgment of prophecy, the conduct of war, agriculture and commerce, the interests of the family and education, the relief of the poor and the treatment of the lower animals, in as complete a system of public religion as the world has ever seen. The obligation, which the authors feel, of limiting the national worship to one locality, has neither shortened

[1] Art. 'Jeremiah,' Hastings' *D.B.* [2] viii. 2-5. [3] xii. 1 f.

their vision of the land nor restrained their hearts from the whole compass of the people's life. There is no stage of Israel's legislation from which we enjoy so wide and sympathetic a prospect of land and people. One of the most frequently enforced obligations to love and serve God is His gift of *this land*, whose singular preciousness and beauty is as lavishly described[1] as its sacredness is solemnly proclaimed: *Thou shalt not cause the land to sin which Jahweh thy God giveth thee for an heritage. Thy cities* and *thy gates* are among the most often recurring formulas by which the laws (except those relating to the central sanctuary) are affirmed to be applicable throughout the whole country; and the laws are designed for a widely scattered people still mainly employed in agriculture.[2] To this stage of life the blessings and the curses are, with one exception,[3] confined, and the happiness of the people is described as in rural wealth and pleasures. It is remarkable how the very fringes of country life are considered—dropped sheaves, strayed animals, and the like; and also how much care is taken for remote persons and places—for fugitives from blood at a distance from the central sanctuary,[4] for escaped slaves,[5] and for the victims of murder and outrage in lonely fields far from houses.[6] If the writers belonged to Jerusalem, they did not write from behind her walls. The whole country was upon their conscience and their heart; its townships and villages, farms and homesteads, vineyards, fields and mines, long roads and desert places. One would think that not the law of the central sanc-

Its regard for the Provinces.

[1] xi. 10 ff. [2] This even in xiv. 22-29. [3] xxviii. 12*b*, 43 f.
[4] iv. 41 ff. [5] xxiii. 15. [6] xxi. 1; xxii. 25 ff.

tuary, but the interests of the rest of the land, were the main anxiety of the Book; so careful, for instance, are its provisions for the priests of the disestablished shrines, and for the domestic convenience of the people in whose gates sacrifice, hitherto the invariable form of the slaughter of animals for food, is no longer to be allowed. Down to small details and to the remotest distances, interests, whether vested or not, are safeguarded, and compensation is made for the disturbance caused to the rural economy by the centralisation of the cultus. But such provisions form only part of the wide and mindful humanity of the Book. Its ethics are the social justice and pure charity of the great prophets. Its care is vigilant for the poor, the widow, the fatherless, the slave, the debtor, and *the stranger that is within thy gates*. Nor are the animals forgotten.

The Secrets of the Book's Influence.

It is only when we thus realise all the tempers which inspire Deuteronomy—some of them, it may be, not yet articulate by the date of the Reform, of which parts of the Book were the cause and parts the precipitate—that we can explain the rapid and unanimous adoption of the system by the nation: in spite of the fact that it involved the alteration of so many sacred customs and the disturbance of so many interests throughout the land. The religious instincts and natural conscience of the people, headed by their pious king, were stirred. Truly God Himself came near to the heart of the people in such a story of grace, such repeated and urgent calls to righteousness: we cannot but believe that the chief influence of the Book lay in its religion proper—the revelation of Him which it

conveyed. Then Israel's patriotism was inflamed, their intelligence aroused, and their affections drawn forth by the humane ideals presented to them. Every home, every heart was appealed to. Every interest found itself respected. Upon the poor and the oppressed a great hope dawned. But to all this volume of movement, the edge and point was the conviction of the zealous leaders of reform—sharpened as it had been by the cruel experiences of Manasseh's reign—that only such radical and rigorous measures as Deuteronomy enjoins could save their religion from submergence by heathenism, and their nation from destruction. And now for the full operation of all these motives the political situation gave the opportunity which had been denied to the efforts of Ḥezeḳiah. Israel was free for the moment from foreign servitude—free to obey its God and to govern itself in His fear.

The Book of Deuteronomy is singularly reticent as to the name of the place which Jahweh would choose for His one altar and sanctuary. Jerusalem is not mentioned; neither in the laws nor in the introductions and supplements.[1] We can hardly doubt the reason of this. The authors of the policy were more concerned to state the religious principle involved in it than to advocate the claims of a particular locality. Nor did the latter need to be asserted. Jerusalem was the only possible candidate for the unique position designated by Deuteronomy. We have seen the gradual growth of Temple and City at a time when they had still many ancient and more powerful

It does not name Jerusalem.

[1] And that although the cities of refuge are given by name, and sacred functions are appointed at Ebal and Gerizim, the natural centre of the land.

rivals in the land. We have seen how Isaiah interpreted the Divine purpose in their history and unveiled their glory as the habitation and the hearth of God, and how this sacredness had been vindicated in 701 when every other sanctuary in the land was despoiled. Nowhere else could the centralised ritual be kept so pure as on a site which, never having been used by another deity before Jahweh chose it for Himself, had passed through such a history of divine deed and word. David's, Solomon's, Isaiah's, Ḥezeḳiah's work was completed by Josiah, and the Temple became the single sanctuary of the One God.

The record of how Josiah carried out the Deuteronomic reforms[1] is composite, and beset with later intrusions. But it is certain that the Temple, the City and their surroundings were largely purged of heathen altars, rites and ministries; and that from Geba' to Beersheba'—the limits of Judah—the high-places of Jahweh were abolished, His rural priests brought to Jerusalem, and His sacrifices and festivals established there alone. The former side of the Reform does not appear to have been so successful as the latter. The heathen cults may have ceased for the rest of Josiah's reign, but upon his death they immediately revived. But the centralisation of the national worship of Jahweh, the establishment of the one sanctuary for the One God, was settled once for all. And this was the main thing. Whether cleansed or not from heathen cults, Jerusalem became, not merely the principal school and shrine of the one great system of ethical and intellectual monotheism in the ancient world; but its

The Reforms which it effected.

[1] 2 Kings xxiii.: see above, p. 201 *n.* 1.

material sign and sacrament, its only altar, and for centuries almost an equal object with its God of confidence and longing.

Observance of its formal, neglect of its ethical, Demands.

While it was thus possible to execute the formal decrees of Deuteronomy with regard to the worship, it was by no means so easy to realise the ethical ideals, and one after another these faded even in Josiah's time. Removed from close contact with the agricultural and pastoral habits of the people, which moulded the uses of the rural shrines, the ritual was relieved from the debasing infections of nature-worship. But at the same time there was danger that the healthy influence of association with the simple life of the common people and their domestic interests would be lost. As a matter of fact the sensuous but naïve credulities of the country were replaced by another materialism. Jeremiah reports that a more sophisticated and tyrannous superstition grew up about the one altar and the letter of the Law on which its ritual was founded.[1] The vivid sympathy which we have seen in Deuteronomy for the whole land and its life was replaced by a fanaticism for the Temple and the City. Even so definite an ordinance as that for the admission of the rural priests to equal office and privilege with those of Jerusalem was ignored. And in general the social legislation of Deuteronomy was neglected. As the prophets complain, the people of Jerusalem learned neither justice nor mercy toward the poor and the slave.

The great influx of rural priests undoubtedly introduced to the capital a measure of moral vigour and

[1] See above, pp. 215 ff.

independence of thought: witness Jeremiah himself. But it also meant the increase of the number of religious idlers, especially when those priests were refused admission to the full work and honour of the altar. Divorced more or less from local and domestic interests, deprived of the highest ambitions of their profession, and reduced in many cases to a degrading beggary and subsistence on chance, the Levites were left to develop a narrow and a hollow patriotism without responsibility or healthy discipline. Thus there was constituted a body of zealots and fanatics, who are already apparent in the days of Jeremiah, and who never ceased in the sacred courts till the days of Titus: men who turned the Temple into a fortress and neglected the rest of their land and its interests.

Double Character of the Increase of the Temple Priesthood.

Thrice every year the manhood of the people gathered to Jerusalem, and what that meant for the national unity, discipline and instruction in great causes cannot be exaggerated. We see it already in Jeremiah's choice of such seasons for the delivery of his prophecies. He could then address the whole of Judah in the courts of the Temple. But at the same time these mobs were prone to be as fuel to the false fire of the zealots. Instead of bringing to the capital the health and sanity of the country, they too often took back to the provinces the fever of the City.

The Temple the National Auditorium.

In short, from the very morrow of the Deuteronomic centralisation of the cultus in Jerusalem, we see at work all the forces, good and bad, which form the mingled glory and horror of her future history.

CHAPTER IX

JEREMIAH'S JERUSALEM

c. 625-586 B.C.

THE ministry of Jeremiah to Jerusalem covered as long and as critical a period of the City's history as did that of Isaiah, and was exercised upon the same wide complex of affairs: the ethics, the worship and the politics of her people. Isaiah and Jeremiah scourged the same vices, and enforced the same principles of righteousness. Both inveighed against prevalent idolatries; both wrought with reforming kings, who not only sought to extirpate the idols, but, for the further security of a pure faith, took measures to concentrate the national worship upon the Temple. As for politics, Jeremiah, as well as Isaiah, had to fight a party which intrigued for alliance with Egypt, to confront the armies of a northern empire, and to live with his city through the terrors of a siege.

Isaiah and Jeremiah: the Resemblances of their Ministries.

In spite, however, of so much outward resemblance, the respective attitudes of the two prophets towards Jerusalem were distinguished by inherent differences, which are perceptible even in the ethical tempers of their ministries, while in the political issues they become so wide as almost to appear irreconcilable. Ethically, Jeremiah was more

The Differences: 1. Ethical

rigorous and hopeless than Isaiah. The evil reign of Manasseh had come between and revealed the incorrigible bias of the people to idolatry and immorality. The efforts of Ḥezekiah to purify and concentrate the national worship did not succeed, and Isaiah was therefore spared the duty of criticising the popular effects of such measures. But Jeremiah lived through a reform and a centralisation of the worship only to be confronted by their moral failure and their many abuses. In other words, while the one prophet led up to Deuteronomy, the ministry of the other was compelled to lead away from Deuteronomy. Isaiah had interpreted to Jerusalem God's purpose in her selection by David and throughout her history since. It had been God's will to make Jerusalem *the City of Righteousness*; and even though she had failed of that ideal, she was still His dwelling, whose eternal throne the prophet saw behind the altar of her Temple. She was still, in a shaken and distracted world, the only refuge of His Remnant. Upon the faith roused by such visions, Isaiah, almost alone, carried the City inviolate through the Assyrian invasion; and her deliverance in 701 set God's signature to the interpretation which he had given of her history. But Jeremiah saw no visions of the unique sacredness of Jerusalem. His inaugural sacraments were provided not in the Temple, but in the open air of the country, to which he belonged: in a blossoming almond twig, and a boiling caldron with its face to the fateful north, out of whose smoke came actual, vivid heathen to set their thrones in the gates of Jerusalem. Ḥezekiah's efforts to translate Isaiah's ideals for the City into fact had failed, in spite of the miraculous attestation of her inviolableness, and had been succeeded by the relapse

into the idolatries of Manasseh. Josiah's measures, though thorough and apparently successful, effected only a formal and unethical fulfilment of the prophetic ideals. Therefore where Isaiah had travailed with the hearts of his generation in order to prove that the City was sacred and impregnable to the forces of the world, Jeremiah was compelled to contend with that superstition of her security, to which the faith of his great predecessor had been perverted by her people, and to doom to destruction what Isaiah had triumphantly saved. Isaiah inspired her timid king to defy the northern foes and tell them that God would turn them back before they touched her walls. Jeremiah had to scorn the immoral confidence of the citizens in her invincibility, and to call the prophets false who predicted that she would not be taken.

2. In the Political Situation.

It was not, however, only ethical reasons or disappointment with the effects of reform which thus drove Jeremiah into an attitude towards Jerusalem antithetic to that of Isaiah. The political situation had also changed. By Jeremiah's time Jerusalem was no longer the indispensable fortress of God's Remnant which the statesmanship of Isaiah had seen her to be in the Assyrian world of his day. The empire, which now threatened Judah, bore a different policy to the victims of its sword. Conquest by Assyria had meant national annihilation. Northern Israel did not survive it, and we may be sure that if Jerusalem had fallen to Sennacherib in 701 Judah must have perished with her sister. But, with political insight equal to Isaiah's, Jeremiah perceived the wide difference of the Babylonian policy. This also meant exile for the peoples whom its armies had conquered, but it did not involve

their utter destruction. A people uprooted from their own land might live and even flourish when replanted in the soil of Babylonia and surrounded by a political climate which—we do not exactly know why—was more favourable to their survival than the Assyrian had been. So Jeremiah not only refrained from predicting the inviolableness of Jerusalem, but actively counselled her surrender to the Chaldeans, advised her banished people to adapt themselves to their servitude, and foresaw with hopefulness their long residence in a foreign land.

These, then, are the two reasons why the watchword of Isaiah's ministry was the Remnant, secure upon their immovable City, while that of Jeremiah's may be said to have been the Return, after the City had been *wiped as a dish* and her people scattered among the nations.

3. Isaiah of Jerusalem; Jeremiah of the Country.

I have hinted that one difference between the two prophets was that of their local origins; and the emphasis of this also must be put into our contrast. Isaiah was Isaiah of Jerusalem. The City was his platform and the scenery of all his visions. He moved about her a free and commanding figure, sure of his influence upon her rulers, and with an imagination never more burning than when exercised upon her Temple and her walls. But Jeremiah was a countryman, whose earliest landscapes were the desert hills and stony fields of Benjamin, with their agricultural shrines; who found his first sacraments, as has been said, in the simple phenomena of rural life; and whose youthful ears were filled, not like Isaiah's with the merrymaking of the crowds of *the boisterous City*, but with the cry of the defenceless villages. When at last

Jeremiah came to the capital it was to see the Temple of Isaiah's vision turned into a fetish by the people; it was to be treated as a traitor by her rulers; it was to find in her his repeated prison. And even when the siege was close about the City, and the prophet himself was shut up in the court of the guard, his hope still anchored in the country. His pledge for the future of the nation he gave neither in the Temple nor in anything else of which Jerusalem boasted, but in the purchase from his uncle of one of the family fields in 'Anāthôth: for his heart was set not upon the survival of civic or priestly glory, but on the restoration of agriculture throughout the land which was now desolate and in the hands of the foe.[1] We must count it one not only of the most pathetic but of the most significant episodes in this rural prophet's career that he should stake his hope upon those derelict acres. It was there, forty winters before, he had seen the almond-tree blossom, and knew that God was awake.[2]

Jeremiah was born of a family of priests at 'Anāthôth[3] between the years 650 and 645, or about the same time as Josiah himself. It was to *his own fields* at this same 'Anāthôth that the chief priest Abiathar had been banished when Solomon gave his office to Ṣadoḳ.[4] The chief priesthood had since remained in Ṣadoḳ's family; and if, as is probable, Jeremiah belonged to the stock of Abiathar, he was born in opposition and with no hereditary interest in the religious authorities of his time. But 'Anāthôth lies only four miles from Jerusalem, and its inhabitants have constantly been in the closest economic relations with their capital.

Jeremiah and 'Anāthôth.

[1] Ch. xxxii., especially verses 15, 41, 43 ff. (probably a later commentary on the episode), contrasted with 29 and 31.

[2] Ch. i. 11, 12. [3] Jer. i. 1. [4] See above, p. 49.

We may therefore infer Jeremiah's familiarity from his earliest years with the Temple and other buildings in Jerusalem, with her commercial and religious life, and later with the store of literature that she possessed. Jerusalem is hidden from 'Anāthôth by that branch of the watershed which runs south-east from the main line to the Mount of Olives.[1] The outlook of the village is upon those rural landscapes which Jeremiah has chiefly reflected in his oracles: the rocks, stony fields, villages and high places of Benjamin, Ramah being especially conspicuous,[2] the hills of Ephraim out of which the great north road comes down upon the capital, the bare heights of the wilderness, the valley of the Jordan, and the hills of Gilead.[3] But though hidden from the City, 'Anāthôth is within earshot of her life and of all the foreign rumour of which in those times she was full. Nor should we omit the effect of a boy's accession to the throne and of the growth of his character upon the imagination of this other boy scarcely four miles away. When both the king and the young provincial priest were about twenty-one, there came the crisis in the history of Western Asia which we have noted on the death of Ashurbanipal.[4] It was just then, about 625 B.C., *in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign*, that Jeremiah received God's call to prophesy. The nation was unreformed and impenitent; full of idolatry and immoral ways of life. The ominous North was once more boiling like a caldron.[5] *Kingdoms and Nations*—

Jeremiah's Call.

[1] See vol. i. 31.

[2] xxxi. 15.

[3] Few visitors to Jerusalem go out to 'Anāthôth, now 'Anâtâ, and yet in all the surroundings of the City there is no more instructive site. Its equal neighbourhood to Jerusalem and the Desert, and its wild outlook, illustrate many passages in the Book of Jeremiah.

[4] See above, p. 200.

[5] i. 13, 14.

the troubled masses to which Jeremiah constantly refers[1] —were astir; among them races new to Israel: the Medes, the Chaldeans, the Scythians. But above this confusion, so Jeremiah was assured by the sacrament of the almond-blossom, God was watching, *watching over His Word to perform it*,[2] His Word of Judgment on Israel and His promise of their sanctification. The judgment was certain even if the politics of Western Asia were still too confused for the discrimination of its direction and its exact instruments. For a time indeed one long and terrible movement appeared to embody it. About 625 a force of Scythians[3] swept through the Assyrian Empire as far as the frontier of Egypt;[4] and a number of oracles by Jeremiah[5] are generally interpreted as reflecting the characteristic warfare of these hordes of horsemen, incapable of setting a regular siege but rushing the open country and unfenced towns. The Scythians, however, appear to have retired from Palestine without invading Judah. Among such events Jeremiah had been four or five years a prophet before the discovery of Deuteronomy and the beginning of Josiah's reforms, 621.[6] The history assigns to him no part in the transactions connected with the former. These were all carried through in Jerusalem;

The Scythians.

[1] Duhm's denial to Jeremiah of such references as well as of all consciousness of a mission to peoples beyond Israel, is contradicted by the circumstances of the prophet's time, his geographical position, and the traditions of Hebrew prophecy, on which he at first so strongly leant. See also ch. xxvii.

[2] i. 11, 12.

[3] This is the Greek form of their name, Σκύθαι, supposed to be derived from an original Sku or Saka which (with the prosthetic aleph) appears in the Assyrian Ashkuza and the Hebrew Ashkenaz, Gen. x. 3; 1 Chron. i. 6; Jer. li. 27. See Winckler, *K.A.T.*(3) 76 *n.* 1, 101 ff.; Ramsay, *Galatians*, 28 f.

[4] Herodotus, i. 103 ff.

[5] As well as Zephaniah ii.

[6] See above, pp. 202 f.

he was still at 'Anāthôth.[1] But that he was in sympathy with the religion of the Book we cannot doubt. Its creed, its conceptions of the early relations of Jahweh and Israel, its tenderness and rigour, its dependence on the eighth-century prophets and especially on Hosea, were all also his own. There is even evidence that he accepted the centralisation of the worship, for he includes this in one of his pictures of the ideal future of Israel;[2] and his assistance in effecting it would explain his ill-treatment by the people of 'Anāthôth jealous for their local shrine.[3] On these grounds we may accept the substance at least of the narrative which describes his share in the promulgation of Deuteronomy among the townships of Judah, and his use, on that mission and at other times, of the Deuteronomic phraseology. If in his verse this young prophet echoed Hosea, it is not hard to believe that in his appeals on behalf of the Reforms he adopted the prose style, so infectious and so adapted for hortatory purposes, of the Law-Book which inspired them. But his mind was just of the kind to perceive very soon the inevitable failure of the movement: the superstitious acceptance by the people of the formal side of Deuteronomy, with their neglect of its ethics and spiritual religion.[4] We have no evidence of his further activity

Jeremiah and Deuteronomy.

[1] His father Hilḳiaḥ being of the stock of Abiathar, cannot have been the same as the chief priest Hilḳiaḥ who discovered the Law-Book, for the latter was of the family of Ṣadoḳ.

[2] xxxi. 6 ff; see below, pp. 253 f.

[3] xi. 18 ff.

[4] Between the extremes of Winckler on the one hand, who reckons Jeremiah as a 'legalist,' and therefore far below Isaiah, and of Duhm on the other hand, who denies to him any sympathy with law or legal reforms, there is the more reasonable mean of allowing to the prophet the

during the rest of the reign of Josiah. He may have been in doubt for a time, as he was on other subjects during his long career, and have chosen to be silent; but it is not unlikely that those thoughts were already at work in his mind which led him to abandon the national conception of religion that his early ministry had shared with Deuteronomy, and to develop the individual aspects of faith and duty of which he was the first great prophet in Israel. With the defeat and death of the righteous king at Megiddo in 608, the Deuteronomic movement received a serious if not a fatal check. The centralisation of the worship remained, and the people of Judah continued to gather to the Temple; but idolatries of various kinds appear to have revived, and the spirit of the new king Jehoiakim was very different from that of his father Josiah. To quote an expression of Ḥabakkuk, *the Torah was paralysed, and the Mishpat did not march on.* Judah had passed under a new foreign lordship. By right of her victory at Megiddo Egypt appointed the new king and exacted a heavy tribute.[1] The teaching of Deuteronomy, that the due fulfilment of the Law would be certainly followed by Israel's victory over other nations and her great prosperity, was contradicted by these facts; and the result was the growth of scepticism.

The Battles of Megiddo

liberty of changing his mind with regard to the Deuteronomic movement as experience showed him its true character. This interpretation of Jeremiah is at once the more natural and the more true to the evidence of the Biblical text. On recent tendencies of modern criticism to confine the interest and activity of each of the great prophets to one consistent temper and line of action, see a review by the present writer in the *Review of Theology and Philosophy* (edited by Menzies) for July and August 1907.

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 33-35. On the possibility that the tyranny of which Ḥabakkuk complains was that of Egypt, see the present writer's *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 123 f.

In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, 604, Egypt was defeated by the Babylonians at Carchemish, and a Babylonian supremacy of Western Asia became certain. It was then that Jeremiah received the command to write out all the oracles he had uttered *from the day I spake unto thee, from the days of Josiah even unto this day*, and sent Baruch to read them to the people in the Court of the Temple, that Judah might have one more opportunity to repent. Jeremiah dictated the oracles to Baruch, and we can understand how with this immediate ethical purpose in view he altered them in the light of the new political conditions. When the roll was destroyed by Jehoiakim, Jeremiah and Baruch made another, and *added many like oracles*.[1] This roll is generally understood to have been the source from which our Book of Jeremiah has derived all its oracles of the prophet up to the year 604. The absence of dates from so many, the circumstances of their dictation, their probable revision in the light of the now certain Babylonian supremacy, and the intrusion of so many titles, glosses and passages of prophecy by later writers, render the task of arranging them in chronological order extremely difficult, and in many cases impossible. Still we can often mark whether an oracle was uttered before or after the prophet left 'Anāthôth for Jerusalem; whether an oracle implies the existence of the rural high-places or the effects of the Deuteronomic legislation; whether the battle of Megiddo was past; and whether that of Carchemish had been fought. As already said, some of the oracles referring to invasion

and Carchemish.

Jeremiah dictates his earlier Oracles to Baruch.

Difficulty of dating them.

[1] xxxvi. 32.

reflect the distinctive warfare of the Scythians, but in one or two cases the prophet seems to have altered his description to suit the methods of the new enemies from the north, who, as he was now certain, were to be the instruments of God's judgment upon His impenitent people. After 604, thanks to Baruch, the dates of different events and oracles are either definitely stated, not, however, always correctly, or are clearly betrayed.

The Details of Jeremiah's Treatment of Jerusalem.

We have now before us, first, the distinctive features of Jeremiah's attitude to Jerusalem, explained in the light of his people's conduct and the politics of the time; second, the main facts of his life and experience up to 604; and third, the character of his oracles before that date. In the light of these we may proceed to trace the details of his treatment of Jerusalem, his judgment of her people, and his predictions of their future, along with the materials which he and Baruch incidentally provide for the topography of the City.

The Earliest Oracles, ii.-iv.

In what are apparently some of the earliest oracles of Jeremiah, now found in chapters ii.-iv. of the Book,[1] the prophet is engaged with the nation as a whole; her first loyalty to God, her subsequent apostasy increasing from her entrance to the Promised Land, and her present incredible misunderstanding of His ways with her. In these chapters the name of Jerusalem, when used either by itself or in precedence to the land, appears almost exclusively in passages which for other reasons may be assigned to a later date.[2] It is all-Israel

[1] Erbt's arguments for a later date for ii. (*Jeremia und seine Zeit*, 129, 235 ff.) are hardly sufficient.

[2] *E.g.* in the title ii. 2*a*, which is not found in the LXX., while the original oracle begins with 2*b* (*I remember the true love of thy youth*, etc.); and it is clearly not Jerusalem (which the inserted title names) but the nation as a whole

or Judah with which these early oracles deal.[1] If Jerusalem is mentioned it is as second to Judah,[2] or as the strongest of the fenced cities of the land,[3] or as the public centre at which it was most natural to proclaim the coming disaster.[4] Throughout these oracles the young Jeremiah has on his heart the unprotected villages and the interests of all the *townships of Judah*.[5] The first outbreak of his anxiety for Jerusalem alone occurs at the end of this collection of oracles in a taunt-song,[6] which is one of the pieces that have been reasonably assigned to the Scythian invasion. Two of these so-called 'Scythian Songs' may be given as specimens of his style. The first sounds the alarm of the invasion, and summons the country people to the walled cities:—

In Judah make known and Jerusalem,
Proclaim and announce;
Blow ye the trump through the land,
Call with full voice,
And say, 'Sweep together, come in
To the towns that are fenced.
Lift up the signal towards Ṣion,
Rouse ye and stay not!'
For evil I bring from the North,
Ruin immense.

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that is addressed (this against Erbt, *Jer. u. seine Zeit*, 128 f.); iii. 14-18, which implies the Exile; iv. 14, which Duhm is right in regarding as an interpolation, for it breaks the connection and weakens the emphasis of the context.

[1] Addressed by name ii. 14, 28, 31; iii. 6-13 (this passage may not all be from Jeremiah), 20, 23; iv. 1; and implied elsewhere.

[2] *Men of Judah and Jerusalem*, iv. 3; *men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem*, iv. 4; *declare in Judah and publish in Jerusalem*, iv. 5; *this people and Jerusalem*, iv. 11*a* (the genuineness of this clause is doubtful).

[3] iv. 5, 6.

[4] iv. 16: even here Duhm elides the words, *publish against Jerusalem*.

[5] *E.g.* iv. 16.

[6] iv. 29-31.

The Lion is up from his thicket,
Mauler of nations.
He hath broke, he hath marched from his place
—Thy cities are burning—
To turn to a desert thy land,
Swept of its people.
Gird ye with sackloth for this,
Lament and bewail,
For His anger turneth not from us,
The wrath of the Lord.[1]

The other piece is held by many to be from the same period, and in that case the prophet predicts, as in the last, the effects of the feared Scythian raids. But if we read the opening verses as the description of an actual invasion, we must refer the verses to another period, either when the Egyptians or when the Babylonians came on the land. The prophet taunts Jerusalem with the same levity which we have seen Isaiah impute to her people. The City hopes to flatter off her enemies; but these are no wooers. It is her life that they seek.

From the noise of the horse and the bowmen
All the land[2] *is in flight.*
They are into the caves, they hide in the thickets,[3]
Are up on the crags.
Every town of its folk is forsaken,
No habitant in it!
All is up! Thou destined to ruin,
What doest thou now?[4]

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[1] iv. 5-8. In the Ḳinah measure, alternately three and two accents. In verse 7 two of the clauses have been transposed so as to make this regular.

[2] The correct Greek reading: Heb. *every city*.

[3] So the fuller text of the LXX.

[4] The text of these three lines is uncertain. The reading I conjecture is

וְאֵין יוֹשֵׁב בָּהּ
נוֹאַשׁ וְאַתִּי שְׁדוּדָה
מַה־תַּעֲשִׂי לָךְ

That thou deck'st thee with deckings of gold—
That thou clothest in scarlet,[1]
That thou widenest thine eyes with the stibium,[2]
In vain dost thou prink!
Though lechers they be, they do loathe thee,
Thy life are they seeking!
I hear cries of woman in travail,
Shrieks of her that beareth.[3]
The voice of the daughter of Sion, she gaspeth,
She spreadeth her hands,
'Woe unto me now! For it faileth,
My life to the slayers!'

There are oracles farther on in the Book which apparently are as early as those in chapters ii.-iv.; in them also the interest of the prophet is for all the townships of Judah,[4] and the whole country,[5] on which Jerusalem is conspicuous as the capital, but by no means has a unique sacredness, for he continues to name her second to the country, equally involved in the horrors of the impending invasion, and certain of siege and destruction if her inhabitants do not repent.[6]

Other Early Oracles.

To sum up—what Jeremiah has before him in these earlier oracles is the whole land of Judah, with its many shrines rank with idolatry, its rural landscapes and figures, its villages defenceless to the foe, and Jerusalem merely as the strongest and most wicked of its cities, to which the country folk

In all these Jerusalem secondary to the Land.

[1] These two lines have been transposed, with Duhm and others, to suit the rhythm.

[2] 'Ceruse nor stibium can prevail,
Nor art repair when age makes fail.'
Collop: *Poesie Reviv'd*, 1656.

[3] Heb. *as of one that beareth for the first time.*

[4] *E.g.* v. 15-17; x. 19-22: apparently from the Scythian period.

[5] xiv. 17, 18; xvii. 1-4 (date uncertain).

[6] vi. 1-8 (but this may be later: see below, p. 246), 23.

flee before the invader, and which, as the climax of all, must fall before him. Many of the passages of which Jerusalem forms the sole or the predominant subject are of later date.

In Chapter v. Jeremiah brings a searching indictment against all classes of the City's population. Professor Duhm has argued that the oracle marks Jeremiah's removal from 'Anāthôth to Jerusalem, and that this therefore took place before the centralisation of the national worship in the Temple in 620. But he forgets how close 'Anāthôth lay to the capital, and how familiar Jeremiah must have been with the citizens even before he became one of them. More probably the prophet's final migration to Jerusalem took place when the rural shrines, of which 'Anāthôth was one, were abolished, and he and other of their priests were brought by Josiah to the Temple. However that may be, the effects of the centralisation of the worship become very evident in the records of Jeremiah's activity as a prophet. After 620 he is able to address the manhood of the nation in the Temple Courts, where, obedient to Deuteronomy, they gather to the national festivals or fasts. For such addresses we have no dates during the reign of Josiah. Hitzig, Keil and others have assigned to the reign of Josiah chapter vii. 1-15, a passage which contains a speech by Jeremiah to *all Judah*[1] assembled in the Temple; distinguishing it from an address to *all the cities of Judah which are come to worship in Jahweh's house*, chapter xxvi. 1 ff., dated *in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiaḳim.* These two accounts, however, seem to refer to the same event. In any case

Oracles after the Deuteronomic Reforms.

[1] vii. 2. The shorter LXX. text is here to be preferred: see next note.

the periodical gatherings in the Temple of all the men of Judah, which are enjoined by Deuteronomy, had become by the end of Josiah's reign so firmly established that they survived through the reign of his very differently minded successor; and Jeremiah used these gatherings in order to reach the national conscience. *Stand in the court of the House of Jahweh and speak to all the cities of Judah which are come to worship in the house of Jahweh.*[1] And again, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, when the prophet dictated his oracles to Baruch, he ordered him to read the roll of them *in the ears of the people in the house of Jahweh on a Fast-day, and also in the ears of all Judah who are come in from their cities.*[2] The City in fact has become the auditorium of the nation. Yet even so, it is only because the nation is massed upon the courts of her Temple that the prophet's activity is confined to her. In other words, he concentrates his teaching upon Jerusalem for practical and not for doctrinal reasons; and neither he himself nor his biographer, Baruch, gives her any precedence (with perhaps one exception[3]) before the rest of the land. In the passages just quoted from xxv. and xxxvi., in chapter xiii.,

The Temple the National Auditorium.

But Jerusalem still secondary to the Land.

[1] xxvi. 2. The parallel passage in vii. 2 runs thus in the Hebrew text: *Stand in the gate of the house of Jahweh and proclaim there this word, and say, Hearken to the word of Jahweh, all Judah—ye that are entering by these gates to worship Jahweh;* for which the LXX. has only *Hear the word of Jahweh, all Judah.*

[2] xxxvi. 6. Compare xxv. 1 f., where it is said that in the fourth year of Jehoiakim Jeremiah *spake with all the people of Judah and to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem.*

[3] ix. 11 [Heb. 10]. *I will make Jerusalem heaps . . . and the cities of Judah a desolation.* The date of this verse and even its origin from Jeremiah himself are uncertain.

if this be genuine,[1] in chapter xiv., the Great Drought, and in the Parable of the Potter (chapter xviii.) and the Symbol of the Potter's Vessel (chapter xix.) the precedence of the Land to the City is constant, in spite of the fact that the national worship has already been concentrated in the City.[2]

Jeremiah's sermon, recorded in chapter vii. 1-15,[3] reflects another result of the centralisation of the worship: the popular perversion of the Deuteronomic insistence on the unique sacredness of Jerusalem. By the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim,[4] and in all probability before this and during the reign of Josiah, the people had come to regard the Temple as a fetish. *Put not*, he says to the crowds assembled from all Judah in the Temple courts, *put not your faith in false words: 'The Temple of Jahweh, the Temple of Jahweh, the Temple of Jahweh, there they are.'*[5] He turns his fellow-countrymen to the amendment of their ways. If they do justice between man and man, cease to oppress the orphan and widow and to shed innocent blood *in this place* and to go after

Jeremiah rebukes superstitious confidence in the Temple,

[1] A difficult question, but on the whole Erbt's defence of it against Duhm seems to me strong. Cornill takes xiii. as a unity and the bulk of it from Jeremiah.

[2] xiii. 9, 13; xiv. 2, 19; xviii. 11; xix. 7, 11; cf. xxv. 1, 18.

[3] Duhm regards this passage as the work of a later expander of some genuine ideas of Jeremiah, obtained through Baruch's biography: 'great thoughts, weakly elaborated.' Duhm's view is governed by his quite unsubstantial theory that we have no genuine prose discourses from Jeremiah. Disallow this theory and there remains no objection to the substantial authenticity of ch. vii. The ideas are certainly Jeremiah's, and there is no improbability in his having expressed them in the then current and very infectious style of Deuteronomy.

[4] Cf. with vii. 1-15 the date in xxvi. 1.

[5] Literally *those*. Cf. our Lord's words, Matt. xxiv. 1 and 2.

other gods; then God will dwell with them in the place which He gave to their fathers. *Lo, ye are trusting to false words that profit nothing! Is it* possible? *Ye steal, murder, commit adultery, perjure yourselves, sacrifice to Baal and go after other gods whom ye have not known, and then ye come in and stand before Me in this House, which is called by My Name, and say, 'We have saved ourselves!'—In order to do all these abominations! Has this House become a den of thieves?*[1]

and threatens its destruction.

The ecclesiastical ideals of Deuteronomy have been fulfilled, only to become a superstitious substitute for its ethical demands. The people have made obedience to its programme of ritual an atonement for their evil lives; and impiously congratulate their blood-stained and lustful hearts that they are as safe behind the sacred walls as the pure faith of Isaiah had known itself to be. To all that kind of sham there is but one end—the destruction of the abused sanctuary. For this there is a precedent. *Go now to my sacred place*[2] *which was in Shilo, where at the first I caused My Name to dwell, and see what I have done to it for the wickedness of My people Israel. So now, because ye have done all these deeds (although I spoke to you in time, but ye hearkened not, and although I called you, but ye did not answer), I will do to the House which is called by My Name, in which ye put your trust, and to the sacred place which I gave to you and to your fathers, just as I have done to Shilo, and I will cast you out from My Presence just as I cast out all your brethren, the whole of the seed of Ephraim.*

[1] Cf. Mark xi. 15 ff.

[2] מָקוֹם here in the same sense as the Arabic Maḳâm.

We must observe that on this occasion Jeremiah addressed himself not to the nation as a unit (as he had done in his earlier discourses and as the Book of Deuteronomy generally does) but to the separate individuals who compose the nation. This is clear from the parallel account in chapter xxvi. 3: *peradventure they will hear and turn, every man from his evil way*; and is in accordance with the increasing individualism of Jeremiah's ethics, when the failure of the national system of Deuteronomy became apparent and the collapse of the state grew more certain.

Increasing Individualism of the Prophet's Ethics.

Jeremiah's prediction of the ruin of the Temple in which the people trusted was addressed to practically the whole nation gathered to a Temple festival.[1] At its close the Temple prophets and priests[2] laid hold on him with the words, *Thou shalt verily die.* To them it was the sheerest sacrilege to say a word against either Temple or City. But the matter, being public, *for all the people were gathered to Jeremiah in the Temple*,[3] the news of it speedily reached the nobles of Judah, and they came up at once from the palace to the Temple and took their seats *in the opening of the new gate of Jahweh.* The prophets and priests then formally accused Jeremiah *to the nobles and all the people*[4] of a capital crime in threatening *this City.* Jeremiah made a calm and dignified reply: the Lord had sent him to prophesy

Prophets and Priests therefore seek his Death.

[1] xxvi. 2, 7.

[2] Verse 8. Omit the words *and all the people*, which have been wrongly repeated from verse 7.

[3] Verse 9. But this clause really belongs to the following verse, and explains how the report quickly reached the nobles in the palace.

[4] Verse 11. *The people* were therefore not among his accusers: see the note before the last.

against the Temple and the City; but there was still time by amending their ways to move God to relent. As for himself, he was in their hands, let them do what seemed good to them, only they must know that if they killed him they would bring the guilt of innocent blood upon themselves and the City, for in truth it was Jahweh who had sent him. The nobles and all the people then said he was not guilty of a capital crime, for he had spoken to them in the name of Jahweh; and some of the oldest of the men present testified to the assemblage that when Micah the Morasthite proclaimed a destruction of the City and Temple, Ḥezeḳiah and the men of Judah instead of putting him to death feared God and He averted the disaster. This precedent prevailed and Jeremiah escaped. The king, who was absent on the occasion—it is remarkable that neither now nor in the events related in chapter xxxvi. is Jehoiaḳim present in the Temple—pursued even to Egypt another prophet who spoke as Jeremiah had done, and put him to death.

Acquitted by the Princes and the People.

The people's relapse into idolatry after the collapse of the Deuteronomic ideals in the disaster at Megiddo (608 or 607 B.C.) confirmed Jeremiah in his belief of the inevitableness of the destruction of Jerusalem. In the fact of the Potter at his wheel, changing his first plans for a lump of clay, as he finds it under his hand unsuitable to them, chapter xviii. 1 ff.,[1] Jeremiah sees an illustration of how God may change His purpose for Israel. Chapter xix.,

Other Oracles under Jehoiaḳim, 608-597.

[1] Undated, but most probably from Jehoiakim's reign. Cornill dates xviii. 1-4 between 620 and 610, denies the genuineness of 5-12, and puts 13-17 and 18-20 under Jehoiaḳim.

the story of how Jeremiah broke a potter's jar at the Gate Harsith, concentrates this lesson upon Jerusalem and the Temple.[1] The prophets of Jerusalem, now the religious centre of the land, are themselves immoral and the source of all the national sin. We must note that Jeremiah considers their immorality as more horrible than the Baal-worship of the prophets of Samaria.[2] Therefore Jeremiah is certain of her fall. For this foe is not one who will be turned as the Scythians were. The prophet varies a line he had used in the Scythian songs about fleeing into the fenced cities, and adds to it a note of despair. For walls are no refuge from the Babylonians. The measure of the piece is broken and uncertain.[3]

Why sit we still! Sweep together,
Let us enter the fortified cities,
That there we may perish!
For our God, He hath doomed us to perish,
He hath given us the poisonous water:
Against Him we have sinned.
Hope of peace there was once,
Now there is panic.[4]

[1] Also undated; some place it in Jehoiakim's (so Cornill), some in Sedekiah's reign. Duhm's objections to the authenticity of the narrative are arbitrary.

[2] xxiii. 3-15: certainly to be dated after the centralisation of the worship and probably in the reign of Jehoiakim, though some assign it to Sedekiah's. Even Duhm admits this oracle as genuine.

[3] viii. 14-ix. i. [Eng. = viii. 14-23, Heb.]. The various opinions as to the date of this oracle are proof of the impossibility of assigning it with certainty to any definite point in the prophet's career. Cornill (pp. 112, 123) takes the whole section viii. 4-23 as an original unity connected by Jeremiah himself with the Temple discourse which precedes it, and therefore one with the latter in subject if not in date. But it may be one of those pieces which the prophet added in 604 to his earlier oracles, when he came to dictate the second roll (xxxvi. 32).

[4] Verse 15 has been expanded from xiv. 19. For בעתה read with LXX. בהלה See Giesebrecht, Duhm, and Cornill.

From Dan a sound has been heard,
The hinnying of his horses,
With the noise of the neigh of his stallions
The earth is aquake.
'Lo, I am sending upon you
Serpents and basilisks,
Against whom availeth no charm,
But they will bite you.'
For that this grief hath no comfort,[1]
Sick is my heart:
Hark to the cry of my people
Wide o'er the land!
'Is Jahweh no longer in Ṣion?
Is there no King in her?'
'Why have they vexed Me with idols,
Vanities alien?'
Harvest is over, the summer is ended;
We are not saved!
For the breaking of the daughter of my people
I break, I darken.
Horror hath seizèd upon me,
Pangs of a woman.[1]
Is there no balm still in Gilead?
Is there no healer?
Why will the wounds not be staunched[2]
Of the daughter of my people?
Oh that my head were but waters,
Mine eyes springs of tears,
Night and day would I weep
For the slain of my people!

Is there no Jahweh in Ṣion, is there no king there?—it is an echo on the lips of the people of that same superstitious belief in the inviolableness of the Temple which we have heard before: the perversion of Isaiah's faith in her sacredness. Immediately the voice of God replies that He is wearied with their idolatry. This quotation from the lips of the people of what might have been the very words of

Once more against the Templesuperstition.

[1] After the LXX. [2] Heb., *Why mounts not the healing skin.*

Isaiah is an instructive proof of how the pure ethical faith of one generation may become the desperate fetish of the next.

Another piece definitely anticipates the fall and destruction of the City. The order of some of the lines has been altered in translation.[1]

Jerusalem, who shall console thee,
Who shall bemoan thee?
Who shall but turn him to ask
After thy welfare?
'Tis Me whom thou hast rejected,
Turned thy back to,
And I stretch My hand to destroy,
Sick of relenting.
I will winnow you out with the fan
In the gates of the land,
Bereave and extirpate My people
Because of their ways.
More are their widows become
Than sand of the sea.
I will bring upon mother and son
Destroyers at noon,
In a moment let fall on them
Terror and panic.
The mother of seven hath fainted,
Breathed out her life;
Set is her sun in the daytime,
Baffled and shamèd.
Their remnant I give to the sword
In face of their foes.

And again the beautiful lines—

Call ye the keening women to come,
Send for the wise ones,
That they hasten and sing us a dirge
Till with tears our eyes run down,
Our eyelids with water.

. . . . . .

[1] xv. 5-9.

For death is come up to our windows
And into our palaces;
The children are cut from the streets,
The youths from the places;
And the corpses of men are fallen
Like dung on the field,
Like wisps that the reaper has dropped,
And nobody gathers.[1]

From this time, then, about 604 or 603 B.C., Jeremiah was certain of the fall of the City, which less than a century before Isaiah had so triumphantly saved. Nor had he any doubt of the quarter from which her executioner was to come. The battle of Carchemish left Nebuchadrezzar, the Chaldean, master of Western Asia.

Jerusalem Delenda.

For want of a date it is impossible to say whether an oracle with so early a position in the Book as chapter vi. 1 ff. arose from this time: it describes enemies besieging the City, who are certainly not the Scythians, for these appear not to have cast mounts or ramps against fortified places, but when they attacked them did so by 'rushing' the walls. But the kind of siege described suits the Egyptians as well as the Babylonians; and the oracle is as dateable from the years immediately after Megiddo when Necho had Palestine in his power, as from those after Carchemish when he had yielded this sovereignty to Nebuchadrezzar. But if, as is reasonable, we allow any genuine elements in chapter xxv. 1-14,[2] we have among them a distinct statement that Jerusalem shall fall to the king of Babylon. Jehoiakim seemed to have turned the edge of this sentence upon his capital by

Arrival of the Babylonians.

[1] ix. 16 (partly), 17, 20, 21. [2] See Giesebrecht and Cornill on this passage.

submission to Nebuchadrezzar, and remained his vassal for three years, 604-601. Then he rebelled, and Judah was invaded by a Babylonian army aided by bands of Aram, 'Ammon and Moab. The country people and even such nomads from the desert as the Rechabites, flocked for refuge to Jerusalem: an illustration of how the population of the City was always increased upon the threats of invasion.[1] What happened to Jehoiakim is uncertain. From the Book of Kings[2] we may infer that he died a natural death, while the statement in Chronicles[3] that he was taken by the Babylonians and carried into exile, is difficult to reconcile with the fact that three months later Jerusalem, under Jehoiakin, was besieged by Nebuchadrezzar himself, and almost immediately surrendered. The king, the royal family, and the court, with the flower of the population,[4] were carried into Babylonia; but a further respite was granted to Jerusalem under Mattaniah or Ṣedeḳiah, whom Nebuchadrezzar placed on the throne as his vassal.

Siege of Jerusalem and First Captivity, 601 B.C.

To these events we have no reference by Jeremiah himself beyond a short elegy upon the exiled Jehoahaz.[5] Perhaps, till they were over, the prophet remained hidden outside Jerusalem[6] in the refuge to which he had fled from Jehoiakim. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that he escaped the deportation of the notables of the City to Babylonia.

Silence of Jeremiah.

[1] xxxv.: this chapter is dated in Jehoiakim's reign (verse 1). Many transfer it to Ṣedeḳiah's reign, 588-87. It is possible that the text gives a wrong date, like ch. xxvii. 1. But 2 Kings xxiv. 1 ff. describes a Chaldean invasion of Judah in Jehoiakim's days. [2] 2 Kings xxiv. 6.

[3] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6; cf. Daniel i. 2; Josephus x. *Ant.* vi. 3.

[4] Jeremiah xxiv. 1. [5] xxii. 10 ff. [6] As Erbt suggests, p. 19.

Ṣedeḳiah, whom Nebuchadrezzar installed in place of Jehoiakin, was master neither of his throne nor of himself. A vassal, in the hand of his powerful lord, yet constantly goaded to revolt by his neighbours and a restless faction of his own subjects; deprived of the strongest of his people and dependent upon a council of inexperienced upstarts, yet tempted to rebel by the strength of his walls and the popular belief in their inviolableness; sensitive, if only from superstition, to the one high influence left him, yet urged in a contrary direction by prophets who appealed to the same God as Jeremiah did—the last king of Judah is one of the most pathetic figures even in her history and forms a dramatic centre for its closing tragedy.

Ṣedeḳiah: his Character.

During the first years of his reign there was nothing for Ṣedeḳiah and his people but to remain submissive to their Babylonian lord. This was in agreement with the convictions of Jeremiah, and therefore these years bring us no record of action by him, unless we are to assign to them any of those denunciations of idolatry which he is usually supposed to have published under Jehoiaḳim. As in the time of Manasseh, the servitude to a heathen empire involved the admission to the national sanctuary of the gods of that empire. Ezekiel[1] gives us a picture of the Babylonian idolatry which invaded the Temple under Ṣedeḳiah, and to which it is possible that some of Jeremiah's descriptions of the worship of *the host of heaven* may refer. Ezekiel also describes Jerusalem as full of moral wrong and the stupid pride of the baser people left to her. They, forsooth, were Jahweh's true

His first years: establishment of Idolatry.

[1] Ch. viii.

remnant, because they alone were spared to the City![1] They had usurped the offices and estates of their exiled countrymen. They were full of the arrogance of the upstart and of those who, having been saved only because of their inferiority, impute their salvation with equal folly either to their own merits or to the special favour of Heaven. Their self-confidence grew, till it inevitably turned upon its patron, and, fortified by proposals from others of his vassals, they began to intrigue against Nebuchadrezzar.

Foolishness of the Rulers.

It is at this point that the record of Jeremiah's public ministry is resumed. Ambassadors having arrived from Moab and 'Amnon, Tyre and Ṣidon—perhaps in the fourth year of Ṣedeḳiah, that is 593,[2]— Jeremiah was directed to meet their proposals for common revolt against Babylon by making yokes for himself and for them, as symbols that the Babylonian yoke would not be broken. But the party of revolt had also its prophets who spake in the name of Jahweh, and we can easily understand how sincerely these men felt the truth of their message. Jahweh was Judah's God, who had already delivered her from an invader as

Resumption of Jeremiah's Public Ministry.

[1] Ch. xi. 15; cf. Jeremiah xxiv.

[2] Jeremiah xxvii., xxviii. xxvii. 1, which fixes these events *in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiaḳim*, is both a late addition (which the LXX. Version is still without) and a false one: as even our English Revisers allow themselves to affirm, substituting on the margin the name of Ṣedeḳiah for that of Jehoiaḳim, and appealing to verses 3, 12, 20, and xxviii. 1. Chaps. xxvii.-xxix. form a group by themselves, being distinguished by certain literary characteristics from the rest of the Book of Jeremiah. But xxvii. also differs much from xxviii.; it is more diffuse, and its Hebrew text contains many additions, whose style no less than their absence from the Greek version proves them to be late. In xxvii., too, Jeremiah is introduced in the first person, while in xxviii. he appears in the third. In the text above use is mainly made of xxviii. The date suggested for the events of which both chapters treat, the fourth year of Ṣedeḳiah, is by no means certain.

powerful as the Babylonian. In affirming that He would do so once more those prophets were not solely inflamed by a fanatic patriotism and a mere military confidence in the nation's Divine leader. No doubt they desired as much as Jeremiah himself did to banish from Jahweh's Temple the foreign gods and their impure rites. It was a plausible opposition with which Jeremiah was confronted, and the way in which he dealt with it, uncertain at first whether it might not be genuinely inspired of Jahweh, forms one of the most interesting episodes in the history of prophecy. Only observe how, unlike his contemporary Ezekiel, Jeremiah is indifferent to the part which the question of the Temple plays in the controversy. This is to be solved, he feels, by no dogmas connected with the Temple or the Law, but upon principles which are purely ethical and political.

His Doubt

When Jeremiah was going about with the bar upon his neck he was met by *a prophet*, Ḥananiah ben-'Azzur, who in the name of Jahweh told him that the Babylonian yoke would be broken, Jehoiakin be restored, and the sacred vessels brought back which Nebuchadrezzar had carried away. Jeremiah did not contradict this, but prayed that it might be as Ḥananiah said, and solemnly left the question to the issue of events; evidently in doubt for the moment as to whether the word of Jahweh was with himself or with the other. The confident Ḥananiah broke the bar on Jeremiah's neck, the symbol of the Babylonian yoke, *and the prophet Jeremiah went his way.* Later, Jeremiah's confidence was restored. He denounced Ḥananiah as false, and—in the spirit of Deuteronomy itself—predicted his

and Debate with Hananiah.

death.[1] Thenceforth he remained constant in his conviction that the only hope for Judah was in submission to the Babylonians. If Ṣedeḳiah revolted, Jerusalem must fall.

If the date we have assumed for this episode be correct, Ṣedeḳiah did not venture to break his homage to Nebuchadrezzar for four or five years. But in 588 a new monarch ascended the throne of Egypt, Ḥophra[2] by name, and began to interfere in the politics of Palestine. The Egyptian party in Jerusalem found its opportunity, and Ṣedeḳiah appears to have come to an understanding with the Pharaoh.[3] Against this coalition Nebuchadrezzar moved south in person, and established his headquarters at Riblah on the Orontes. On the tenth day of the tenth month of the ninth year of Ṣedeḳiah, January 588-587 B.C., a Babylonian army began the siege of Jerusalem.

Activity of Egypt: Nebuchadrezzar besieges Jerusalem.

In this swift act of arms Ṣedeḳiah and his people might have seen the contradiction of Ḥananiah's prophecy; and at first sight it is surprising that they did not surrender the City. Their resolution to defend it proves the sincerity of the party whom Jeremiah himself at first treated with respect. And in truth, besides their religious beliefs, this party of resistance had much that was substantial on which to rely. The walls of Jerusalem were strong and well garrisoned. The Babylonian general did not attempt to storm them, but, like Titus centuries after, he

Spirited Defence of the City.

[1] The verses stating this, xxviii. 16 f., are doubted by some critics.

[2] 'The Hebrew transcription is rather exact.'—W. M. Müller, *Enc. Bibl.* col. 2107. Herodotus: Ἀπρίης. He is the Pharaoh of Jer. xxxvii. 5, 7, 11.

[3] Ezek. xvii. 15.

built a rampart round the City. Egypt, too, was really ready to move to her relief; and in order to show the sincerity of their faith in the help of Jahweh, the king and his council took the first real step towards fulfilling the spirit of the Deuteronomic laws by engaging in the Temple to enfranchise all their Jewish slaves.[1] The atonement appeared to be successful. An Egyptian army advanced towards Jerusalem, and the Babylonians raised the siege. The confidence of Jeremiah's opponents revived. To the sincerely religious among them it may have appeared as if Jahweh was repeating the wonderful relief of 701. But king and people forgot their oath to release the slaves; and on this ethical ground, if also from his saner estimate of the political situation, Jeremiah proclaimed that the Egyptians would withdraw and the Babylonians come back to besiege and to take the City. Either then, or previously, he replied to a deputation from the king, who inquired whether Jahweh had not been propitiated, that Jahweh's purpose was clear. They must not flatter themselves that the Chaldeans would depart. Even if the expedition of Pharaoh were not futile, even if he had smitten the whole Chaldean army and only the wounded were left to it, *these would rise up every man in his tent and burn the City.*[2] That is to say, Jeremiah, now indifferent as to the military issue of the imminent conflict between Egypt and Babylon, was ethically convinced of the doom of Jerusalem. But the opposition to him remained. When, taking advantage of the withdrawal of the Chaldeans, he tried to go out to 'Anāthôth to secure his patrimony, a captain of the guard arrested him on the charge of deserting to

Temporary Raising of the Siege.

Predictions and Imprisonment of Jeremiah.

[1] Jer. xxxiv. 8 ff. [2] xxxvii. 1-10.

the enemy. In spite of his denial, *the princes*—how changed from those of Jehoiaḳim's reign!—*smote him and put him in a pit in the house of Jonathan the scribe.* Here he received a secret message from the distracted king inquiring if there was any word from the Lord. He replied firmly that Ṣedeḳiah would be delivered into the hands of the king of Babylon, and then claimed that he ought to be set free. He was innocent, and if left in this dungeon, would die. Ṣedeḳiah answered with a sordid compromise. He took Jeremiah out of the pit, but confined him in *the court of the guard, and gave him daily a loaf from the bakers' bazaar, till all the bread in the City was done.*[1]

Resumption of Siege: Jeremiah's second Imprisonment.

The Babylonians returned, and the siege was held closer than before. Jeremiah appears to have got his release, but was a second time imprisoned,[2] without doubt on the charge of *weakening the men of war* by persisting in his call to surrender.[3] They cast him into a cistern in the house of Malkiah, from the mire of which he was drawn by Ebed-Melek, the Ethiopian, and placed in the court of the guard, where the king again consulted him. It is uncertain whether it was during his first or this second imprisonment that, confident as ever of the fall of the City, he pledged his hope for the future of the nation by purchasing from his uncle the fields in 'Anāthôth.[4] But though Jerusalem should be burnt, he predicted its rebuilding[5] and its restoration as a centre of worship.[6] The form in which the latter prediction is put is very significant.

His Confidence in the Future.

[1] xxxvii. 11-21. [2] xxxiii. 1-13. [3] xxxviii. 4.
[4] xxxii. Stade assigns this to the first incarceration. See above, p. 227.
[5] xxxiii. 1-13.
[6] xxxi. 2-6, which even Duhm admits to be an authentic oracle.

For a day shall be when the watchers call
Upon Mount Ephraim—
'Rise, let us go up to Ṣion,
To Jahweh our God.'

That is to say, Jeremiah not only was confident of the resumption of worship in the Temple, but he conceived of the national worship as centralised there, in obedience to the Deuteronomic Law. This means, that in common with all his countrymen, he had accepted the great change in the ritual prescribed by that law and carried out by Josiah. But that is evidence that Dr. Duhm's theory of Jeremiah's indifference, or even hostility, to the Deuteronomic reforms is impossible.

Fall of the City, 586 B.C.

The end was not far off. The timid, those who in their despair felt that Jahweh had forsaken the City, and those who had before deserted Him for the Babylonian gods, went over to the enemy.[1] Famine ensued, and pestilence.[2] The enemy pressed, as every besieger before and after them did, upon the northern wall, where the ground was level, and their engines were not confronted as on other sides by high rocks. At last, on the ninth day of the fourth month of the eleventh year of Ṣedeḳiah, July 586, a breach was made. As the Chaldeans were thus about to enter on the north, the king and his guards fled by the gate in the south-east corner of the City, through the royal gardens, towards the Jordan. They had better have sought the deserts of Judah. They were pursued, captured, and taken to Riblah, where, after his sons were slain before him, the last king of Judah had his eyes put out and was carried to Babylon. The Chaldeans burned the Temple, the Palace, and many of the other houses.

[1] xxxviii. 19. [2] *Id.* 2.

The walls were ruined. And the most of the population were carried away to Babylonia.

Topography of the City given by Jeremiah and Baruch.

To complete this account of Jeremiah's Jerusalem, we have now to gather the topographical details, a few of which occur in the prophet's own oracles; but by far the most are given incidentally and in the plainest prose by Baruch, his biographer. The result is a picture of the City of a different character from that which we received from Isaiah. In his case the details come to us through a prophet's imagination of her ideal, or through the warmth of a heart that, while indignant with her careless crowds, still loved and pitied them. The like of this we cannot expect either from Jeremiah, who had no such love nor vision of Jerusalem, nor from Baruch, who was not a prophet but a scribe. But Baruch had the invaluable pedestrian sense of the ups and downs of his City's site, and the plain man's memory of the exact scenes of his hero's adventures. The result is a picture, grey indeed, but more accurate than any we have yet had, of the outlines and disposition of Jerusalem, as well as of her common buildings and more obscure receptacles. We may begin with the Temple, the centre and crown of the whole, cross its courts and come down through their gates to the Palace and its outhouses, thence pass through the City to the walls and City-gates, and so out upon the immediate surroundings.

Nothing is said of the architecture of the Temple; but it is referred to in the plural, *the Temple of Jahweh, the Temple of Jahweh are those*,[1] probably as including its

[1] vii. 4; cf. Matthew xxiv. 1, 2.

courts and the separate buildings on them, for elsewhere these are implied as part of the Beth-Jahweh.[1] The usual term for visiting the Temple was to *go in* to it.[2] The contents of the sanctuary are not mentioned, beyond a notice that Nebuchadrezzar carried away its furniture and vessels.[3] Whether the Ark was still there or had disappeared we do not know.[4] Round the Temple lay its court: *the court of the house of Jahweh*, where the prophet spoke because *all the people* gathered there;[5] *the upper court*, as Baruch calls it in distinction from the lower, *other* or *middle* court of the Palace, and *the great-court* which surrounded both.[6] There were thus from Solomon's time to Jeremiah's *three* courts, of which only *one*, the *upper* or *inner*, was the Temple-court proper; and to it, as we see from the Books of Kings and from Baruch's narratives, the people were freely admitted both before and after the Deuteronomic reforms. (The courts about the Second Temple were different. That next the sanctuary, corresponding to Solomon's *inner* court but apparently smaller, was called *the court of the priests*,[7] and either

The Temple and its Courts.

[1] xxxv. 4, etc.

[2] xxxvi. 5; cf. xxvi. 2.

[3] xxviii. 3; lii. 18 (from the Book of Kings), etc.

[4] The words in iii. 16, which imply that it had disappeared, occur in an obviously exilic passage: verses 14-18. Whether verse 16 be a quotation from Jeremiah himself (so Erbt) it is impossible to say. There was a tradition after the Exile that Jeremiah hid the Ark: 2 Esdras x. 22; 2 Macc. ii. 5. This was the most unlikely thing for him to do.

[5] xix. 14; xxvi. 2: *the inner court* of 1 Kings vi. 36.

[6] *Upper court*, xxxvi. 10; *other court*, 1 Kings vii. 8; *middle court*, 2 Kings xx. 4; *great court*, 1 Kings vii. 9, 12: Burney's emendation of this verse after the LXX. brings out all *three* courts. See above, pp. 59, 64, 67 ff.

[7] The Chronicler (2 Chron. iv. 9) antedates this court, existing in his own time, to the time of Solomon, and calls an outer Temple-court the *New court* (xx. 5). Schlatter (*Zur Topogr. u. Gesch. Paläst.* 173) assigns this to Asa, and quotes 2 Kings xxi. 5 for the existence of two courts of the Temple

at the beginning in accordance with Ezekiel's directions or at some later stage in its history the laity were excluded from it.) Within the upper court were *chambers*, or lodges, for priests and Temple-officers. Some of these are named: *the sons*, or *guild, of Ḥanan ben-Gedaliah, the man of God*, whose chamber was *beside the chamber of the officers*, and this *above* that of *Ma'aseyahu ben-Shallum, a keeper of the threshold*;[1] and *Gemariahu ben-Shaphan, the scribe*, from the door or window of whose chamber Baruch read Jeremiah's roll *in the ears of all the people*.[2] That Jeremiah himself sometimes held one of those chambers seems probable from two occasions on which the command came to him to *go down—to the king's house, to the house of the potter*.[3] The upper court had several gates known as *the gates of the House of Jahweh*.[4] One or two are named. First there was *the new gate of Jahweh* or *of the House of Jahweh*,[5] probably that which Jotham built or rebuilt.[6] Where this stood is uncertain. The princes took their seats at it[7] on coming up from the Palace, and so some place it on the south. But so public a gate could hardly have been next the Palace. It may have stood on the east. More probably it was the same as the next one, on the north of the upper court—the gate of Benjamin, called also *the upper*,[8] perhaps to

in Manasseh's time. But if pre-exilic (which is doubtful), this verse regards the great court as a Temple-court proper. And Schlatter's whole argument (from p. 167 onwards) for the pre-exilic Temple-courts is founded on the evidence of the Chronicler and the Rabbis, who speak only of post-exilic conditions.

[1] Jer. xxxv. 4.
[2] xxxvi. 10.
[3] xxii. 1; xviii. 1.
[4] vii. 2.
[5] xxvi. 10; xxxvi. 10.
[6] 2 Kings xv. 35; see above, p. 125.
[7] Heb. פֶּתַח, LXX. *ἐν προθύροις*.
[8] Jer. xx. 2. *ἐν πύλῃ οἴκου ἀποτεταγμένου τοῦ ὑπερῴου*, the *north gate* of Ezek. viii. 3, ix. 2, and *gate of altar*, viii. 5.

distinguish it from the corresponding gate of Benjamin on the City Wall. There stood *the stocks*—or rather the low vault in which a prisoner had to sit bent—where Pashḥur, the royal overseer of the Temple, confined Jeremiah. Another entry into this court is called *the third entry that is in the House of Jahweh*, but perhaps we should read *the entry of the Shalishim*, either a certain grade of officers, or the three divisions of the Temple and Palace guards.[1] The Septuagint, however, takes it as one of the houses in the court.

The Palace, and its Courts.

That the Palace, which was to the south of the Temple, lay upon a lower level than the latter, is proved by the verbs which Baruch uses for passing between them. The princes of Judah, when they heard in the Palace the noise in the Temple court, *came up* from the king's house to the house of Jahweh.[2] Micaiah ben-Gemariah *went down* from the upper court to tell the princes of Baruch's reading of the roll.[3] Like the upper court, the court of the Palace had its chambers or lodges for officials, of which one at least is mentioned, *the chamber of the king's scribe* or chancellor.[4] Part of the Palace court was railed off as *the court of the ward*,[5] in which prisoners were kept. As still in Oriental prisons, they were allowed to transact business with their friends through the rail, and receive food

[1] Jer. xxxviii. 14. Shalish is the title of a certain officer in N. Israel (2 Kings vii. 2). On the divisions of the guard, see 2 Kings xi. 5-7. The LXX. of Jeremiah xxxviii. 14 gives, instead of this entry, the house of 'Aseleisel or Shealtiel: εἰς οἰκίαν ἀσελεισηλ (B), ασαλιηλ (א), σαλαθιηλ (A).

[2] xxvi. 10.

[3] xxxvi. 12; cf. xxii. 1: *go down to the house of the king of Judah.*

[4] xxxvi. 12.

[5] xxxii. 2: חֲצַר הַמַּטָּרָה, *which was in the king's house* (thus, as in the case of the Temple, the name *the king's house* covered the court round it).

from the outside.[1] When it was felt that Jeremiah was not securely confined by such conditions, he was cast into a cistern in the court, described as that *of Malkiyahu, son of the king*, or *of Hammelek*;[2] and when more room was needed for political prisoners it was found in *the house of the cistern*, a vault with a cistern, under *the house of the scribe* or chancellor.[3] From this house the princes *went in to the king, to the* presence-*chamber*.[4] This was in *the winter-house*, where the king sat before a brasier;[5] the summer-house would be on an upper story, to which lattices admitted the breeze.[6] Within the Palace was also the house of the royal women;[7] and a *treasury* or *storehouse* is mentioned, with vaults or pits beneath for cast clothes.[8]

The other buildings of Solomon on the East or Temple Hill are not mentioned in the Book of Jeremiah.

Outside the Temple and Palace lay *the streets* or *bazaars of Jerusalem and her broad places*[9]—the narrow lanes for which the compact City[10] has always been notorious, and the comparatively small open spaces within the gates. The various crafts gathered in their own bazaars. Of these only *the bakers' street*[11] and the *house of the potter* are named;[12] but the gold- and silversmiths, the weavers,[13] the image-makers,[14]

The Streets and Bazaars.

[1] Jer. xxxii. 8, 12; xxxvii. 21; xxxviii. 28; cf. xxxiii. 1; xxxix. 14 f.
[2] xxxviii. 6. [3] xxxvii. 15 f.
[4] xxxvi. 20; for חצרה (*εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν*) *into the court*, where the king could hardly have sat in the winter, read החדרה (after 1 Kings i. 15), generally the interior of a house (Deut. xxxii. 25), but especially the private room of the master (Jud. iii. 24, etc.). [5] *Id.* 22.
[6] עליית המקרה, *upper chamber of cooling*, Judges iii. 20, 24. The upper story is called *'aliyah* in Arabic. [7] xxxviii. 22, etc.
[8] *Id.* 11. [9] v. 1, etc. etc. [10] Ps. cxxii. 3.
[11] Jer. xxxvii. 21. [12] xviii. 2. [13] x. 9; vi. 29. [14] x. 14.

the workers in wood, stone and metal,[1] the locksmiths (?),[2] and the wine-sellers[3] had each their own bazaar. The fish-sellers were by the Fish-gate.[4] No other public buildings are mentioned. Beyond the Palace and the Temple and the lodges in their courts, we hear only of *the houses of the people*;[5] but among these were, as in the time of Amos, some *palaces*,[6] and *wide houses cieled with cedar and painted with vermilion*.[7] The roofs were flat, and the bazaars probably covered as in later days. Before the reforms of Josiah there was an altar in every street, and on the housetops family services were performed to Baal and the host of heaven.[8] Neither the size of the town nor its divisions are given; the name *City of David* does not occur. But from Zephaniah[9] we learn that Jerusalem comprised the *Mishneh* or *Second-town* and the *Maktesh* or *Mortar*, perhaps the hollow between the West and the East Hills where the Phœnician merchants and money-dealers had their quarters.[10]

We hear, of course, of the City's walls and gates.[11] Of the latter four at least are named: the gate Ḥarsith (Potsherds?) on the valley of Hinnom;[12] *the gate between the two walls* to *the king's garden*,[13] in the extreme south-east by Siloam; *the middle gate*,[14]

The Gates of the City.

[1] All included under the common name חָרָשׁ, Jer. xxiv. 1.

[2] *Ibid.* מַסְגֵּר; alternatively *yoke-makers*, or *gold-refiners* (vol. i. 328 *n.* 2).

[3] xiii. 12.

[4] Zephaniah i. 10: see below.

[5] Jer. xxxix. 8; lii. 13 (=2 Kings xxv. 9).

[6] ix. 20 (Heb.).

[7] xxii. 14.

[8] xxxii. 29, etc.

[9] Zeph. i. 10, 11.

[10] Mishneh: 2 Kings xxii. 14; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 22, which state that the prophetess Ḥuldah lived there; cf. Nehemiah iii. 9, 12; xi. 9. Maktesh: Zeph. i. 11.

[11] Jer. i. 15; xvii. 19 ff.

[12] xix. 2: see vol. i. 173; vol. ii. 188 *n.* 5.

[13] xxxix. 4; vol. i. 226.

[14] xxxix. 3.

probably on the north wall, and *the city gate of Benjamin*,[1] on the north-east; and, from Zephaniah, the *Fish-gate*. In exilic additions to the Book we find also the *Corner-gate* and *Horse-gate*,[2] and the *Gate of the Children of the People* (?).[3] The two former occur in a passage which defines the boundaries of the City, beginning with the north-east corner: *from the tower Ḥananeel to the Gate of the Corner*, on the north-west, *the measuring line shall go out to the hill Gareb* (which is a place-name or designation of a field in other Semitic languages),[4] presumably at the south-west corner, *and it shall turn round towards Goah* (or, as the Syriac gives it, Gabatha or Gibeah),[5] *and . . .* [6] *and all the fields to the torrent of Ḳidron to the angle of the Horse-gate eastward.*

The Environs.

In the topography of the Book of Jeremiah nothing is more distinctive than its treatment of the surroundings of Jerusalem. We hear, by name or feature, of places further afield: of 'Anāthôth, Ramah, Bethhak-Kerem, Teḳoa', Mizpah, the trench which King Asa made against Baasha of Israel, the great waters that are in Gibeon, and Geruth (or Gidroth) Chimham, near Bethlehem. But of the immediate suburbs of the City, their names or features, almost none are given. We

[1] Jer. xxxvii. 13. [2] xxxi. 38, 40: see vol. i. 199, 201 ff., 206, 325.

[3] xvii. 19: *by which the kings of Judah go in and out.*

[4] Sabean גרבם, a place-name. In Arabic different forms of the root mean rough, scaly, rusty, a measure of corn or size of field on which it can be sown, and cold north wind. Aram., an earthen vessel, measure of corn and size of field which can be sown with it, leprosy, and northward. Assyr., leprous. On Gareb in the Talmud, three miles from Shiloh, see *Talmud Bab.*, 'Sanhedrin,' 103*a*; Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 150 ff., where a Wâdy Gourab west of Jerusalem is mentioned.

[5] LXX.: ἐξ ἐκλεκτῶν λίθων.

[6] *All the valley of the corpses and the ashes of the fat* omitted by LXX., and perhaps a gloss.

hear nothing of Nob, the Mount of Olives, or the Plain of Rephaim; nothing of Gihon, 'En-Rogel, the conduits or the highways; nothing of the near sky-lines nor the woods, nor (till the very end) of the King's Garden. Jeremiah and his biographers behold his Jerusalem only as the City of Doom—doomed by the sins which burst into their wildest orgies beneath her walls, doomed to the assaults which must presently fill her environs. And, therefore, these environs, so striking in their features and so brilliant in their memories, are described only as the haunts of idolatry, the scenes of siege, the site of graves. It is as if to the prophet's eye Jerusalem had no longer any suburbs save guilt and war and death.

Overrun by besiegers.

Thus the oracles upon the Scythian and Babylonian invasions predict in their vivid way the defenceless country-folk streaming for refuge to Ṣion,[1] the approach of the foe always from the north, the setting of his first posts,[2] his felling of the trees and casting of ramps against the walls,[3] the corpses scattered over the fields,[4] and the final acres of graves.[5] But for all we are told of the shape or disposition of the stage on which such scenes are to be enacted, it might be a level plain, without feature, name or memory. And the only waft of its natural atmosphere which we feel is the sirocco blowing in from the bare heights of the desert, *a hot wind neither to fan nor to cleanse, towards the daughter of my people.*[6]

The single variation to these prospects of suburban war is introduced in connection with the national sin. The prophet's eye, to which the whole land was defiled,

[1] Jer. iv. 6. [2] iv. 16; vi. 3. [3] vi. 6 ff.
[4] ix. 22; vii. 33. [5] vii. 32. [6] iv. 11.

saw the pollution concentrated upon the valleys and slopes about the Holy City. The curse of Manasseh was upon them. The worst rites of the idolatries which that king had introduced or revived could not be performed within the walls of the capital. The adoration of the host of heaven might be offered from every housetop and upon the Temple-courts themselves. But the sacrifice of children, prompted by a more malignant superstition, had to be performed, in accordance with the conscience of the ancient world, outside the walls, and in one of the ravines which entrench them. Except the Kidron this is the only suburb which the oracles or narratives of Jeremiah mention: the Hollow of the Son of Hinnom.[1]

The idolatries of Hinnom.

In this lay the Topheth. If one may judge from Phœnician analogies—and the rites were borrowed from Phœnicia—a great fire pit, a development of the primitive hearth, was dug on the floor of the gorge; and upon a pile of fuel or more elaborate structure, called the Topheth, or more correctly Tephath,[2] the victim after being slain was laid, a whole burnt offering. The deity who was supposed to demand so cruel an oblation is named by the Hebrew text Molek,[3] but there are grounds for believing that this was a divine title, Melek[4] or King, rather than a name; and that the awful Despot who demanded such a propitiation was

The Topheth.

[1] See vol. i. Bk. i. ch. vii.

[2] The Hebrew vocalisation Topheth is apparently modelled upon Bosheth = shame, and the vowels also give it the same sound as the word for a thing *spat at* or *abhorred*. The Greek gives Ταφεθ. The word is probably borrowed from the Aramaic, in which תפיא means *fireplace*. See Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the Sem.* (2nd ed.) 377.

[3] Jer. vii. 31, xxxii. 35; 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

[4] Changed to Molek by the vowels of Bosheth as in the case of Topheth.

regarded by the Jews as none other than their own God. The terms in which the prophets of the seventh century remonstrate against the practice show that the people imagined they had Jahweh's command for it.[1] They could quote the letter of an ancient law to that effect,[2] and they had strong motives to so extreme a propitiation in that sense of Jahweh's wrath which one national disaster after another stirred up within them.[3] The practice of sacrificing children is said to have been begun by Ahaz in the despair to which he was reduced by Aram and Israel,[4] and it was revived by Manasseh and spread among his subjects. The horror which it excited is vividly expressed in the remonstrances of Jeremiah. The place was accursed. God would slay His people upon it till it *should no more be called the Hollow of the Son of Hinnom, but the Hollow of Slaughter*,[5] and be covered with graves: a Polyandrion, as the Greek Version calls it, a place populous with the dead. This prediction has been fulfilled not there alone, but in all the encircling valleys of Jerusalem, which are choked with her *débris* and the dust of her slain. The name itself, obliterated from the spot,[6] was translated to a still more

[1] 'Micah' vi. 6 f.; Jer. vii. 31; Ezekiel xx. 18-26.

[2] Exod. xiii. 12, quoted by Ezekiel, *loc. cit.*

[3] The best discussion of this subject is the rich and careful argument by G. F. Moore, *Enc. Bibl.*, art. 'Molech.'

[4] Moore indeed argues that the reference to Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 4) cannot be correct, for the prophets of the eighth century do not condemn the sacrifice of children as those of the seventh century do. But it is difficult to perceive why the historian's attribution of the practice to Ahaz should have been invented any more than that to Manasseh, which Moore accepts. And, as we have seen (vol. i. 127), the fact that Isaiah, when confronting Ahaz, took with him his own son dedicated by the symbolic name to hope, appears to have been the prophet's rebuke to the king for dedicating *his* son to despair.

[5] Jer. vii. 32.

[6] See vol. i. 172 ff.

awful use, and became, as Gehinnom, Geenna, Gehenna and Jahannum, the Hell alike of the Jewish, the Christian and the Moslem theologies. In the case of the Jews this Hell, as we have seen, was located in the Kidron valley below the Temple.[1]

So Jeremiah saw Jerusalem awaiting her doom—an apostate City, beleaguered by her sins, her relentless foes, and the graves of her perpetually slaughtered people.

[1] Vol. i. 174.

CHAPTER X

THE DESOLATE CITY

586-537 B.C.

THAT the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar was thorough, and that he drained her population to the dregs, cannot be doubted. But when we attempt to estimate how much of the City remained habitable, or how many Jews were left in the land after the successive removals to Babylonia and the migration to Egypt, we encounter difficulties which prevent any near view of a result.

Difficulty of estimating the Numbers:

To begin with the people. There are no reliable data for the population of Judah or of Jerusalem before the Babylonian invasion. In 701 Sennacherib claims to have 'carried off and counted as spoil' 200,150 Jewish men, women and children. If this means that he deported them, it must be an exaggeration. The number, which Sargon took into exile when he captured Samaria, is stated as only 27,290; who, if we count them as the fighting-men, even then represent little more than a third of Sennacherib's vast figure. The alternative is to interpret the 200,150 as the whole population of the 'forty-six walled cities and forts without number' which Sennacherib took captive: that is, practically all Judah outside the walls of Jerusalem.

1. Of the Population of Judah;

If we add to them a few tens of thousands for the capital, the result is a very reasonable figure for the population of a land of the size and fertility of Judah. An estimate has been made, from official lists of the inhabitants of practically the same extent of territory,[1] in the year 1892. Without Jerusalem or Hebron and its many villages, this amounts to over 170,000 souls.[2] Adding 40,000 for Jerusalem and the very moderate conjecture of 15,000 for the Hebron district, we get 225,000, which is very near Sennacherib's figure, increased by an allowance for the population of Jerusalem. As we have seen,[3] Judah must have fully recovered from the disasters of 701 during the long and prosperous reign of Manasseh. We cannot therefore be far from the truth in estimating the Jewish nation in the end of the seventh century as comprising *at least* 250,000 souls. That would make it somewhat greater than the present population on the same territory. But such is not unlikely to have been the case.

2. of the Jews deported by Nebuchadrezzar.

The Biblical statements of the numbers deported by Nebuchadrezzar are conflicting. The Book of Kings says that in 598-7 Nebuchadrezzar carried to Babylon 8000 *men*.[4] Another passage, wanting in the Septuagint and therefore probably a later insertion in the Hebrew text of Jeremiah,[5] gives the number for 598-7 B.C. as 3023 *Jews*; and adds for

[1] By Baurath Schick in the *Z.D.P.V.* xix.

[2] Not 120,000, as Guthe states in his *Geschichte*, p. 256.

[3] Above, pp. 196 ff.

[4] 2 Kings xxiv. 15, 16. The preceding verses, which give 10,000 (or *all Jerusalem*), are apparently a later insertion, borrowed (Stade thinks, but without much reason) from an account of the later deportation in 586.

[5] Jer. lii. 28-30.

that of 586 B.C. 832 *souls from Jerusalem*, and for a third deportation in 581 B.C. 745 *souls*, *Jews*: in all, 4600. Although thus described as *souls* and *Jews* it is probable that according to the Oriental fashion fighting men only are intended. But from the Assyrian bas-reliefs it appears that upon those deportations families were not separated but marched away together; and the accounts of the Babylonian captivity imply that this included the women and children. The 4600 fighting men will, therefore, on the usual calculation, have to be increased by half that number in order to represent all the males carried captive; and this sum must be at least doubled so as to include the women and girls. On that basis the Jews deported to Babylonia amounted to at least 14,000, but may have been as many as 19,000 or 20,000. But if we prefer to take the datum of the Book of Kings for 598-7, 8000 fighting men, and add to it another 8000 for 586 (a generous estimate, for we may reasonably infer that a second gleaning of the manhood and the prosperous classes of Judah was less than the first) we raise (on the method of reckoning adopted above) the total number deported by Nebuchadrezzar to 48,000 or 50,000. While if we put these two estimates together, on the ground that the three deportations, given in the Hebrew text of Jeremiah as 4600, refer to other occasions than 597 and 586,[1] we get as the very highest figures possible on our data 62,000 or 70,000. There fall to be added the unknown but probably large number of the organised migration into Egypt,[2] as well as the scattered groups which would drift in the same direction.

[1] Ewald would read in Jer. lii. 28-30, *17th* for *7th*, year of Nebuchadrezzar.

[2] Numerous enough to form several settlements, Jer. xliv.

Even then it is clear, on our estimate of the total population, that a large majority of the Jewish people remained on their land. This conclusion may startle us, with our generally received notions of the whole nation as exiled. But there are facts which support it. Before the migration to Egypt, the people were themselves confident of a prosperous agriculture; and even after Johanan and his bands had left the country the Babylonians did not find it necessary to introduce colonists from other parts of the empire. It is true that the necessity may have been obviated, without Nebuchadrezzar's interference, by the encroachment of neighbouring tribes upon the territories of the depleted and disorganised people. The Samaritans pushed south into Ayyalôn and the neighbourhood. The Edomites drew in upon the Negeb. 'Ammonites and Moabites doubtless took their shares; and the desert nomads, always hovering upon the borders of cultivation and even in times of peace encamped across its pastures, would take advantage of this crisis as they have done of every similar one to settle down in deserted fields and buildings. Yet the fact persists, that upon a much diminished territory some scores of thousands of Jews remained in Judah through all the period of the Exile. They were, as the Biblical narratives testify, *the poorest of the land*, from whom every man of substance and of energy had been sifted; mere groups of peasants, without a leader and without a centre; disorganised and depressed; bitten by hunger and compassed by enemies; uneducated and an easy prey to the heathenism by which they were surrounded. We can appreciate the silence which reigns in the Bible

Large number of Jews left in Judah.

The Poorest of the Land.

regarding them, and which has misled us as to their numbers. They were a negligible quantity in the religious future of Israel: without initiative or any influence except that of a dead weight upon the efforts of the rebuilders of the nation when these at last returned from Babylonia.

Ruin of Jerusalem.

We may now consider the position of Jerusalem in this desperate condition of the land. Penetrating the City by a breach in her northern walls, the Babylonians had sacked, burned and ruined her. Any treasure that remained and the whole of the costly furniture of the Temple were carried to Babylon.[1] The Temple itself, the Palace, and probably every other conspicuous building, with many of the common houses, were burned.[2] What could not be burned was dismantled: *the walls of Jerusalem he brake down round about.*[3]

Only the Dregs of the Population left to her.

The whole fighting force of the City, the men of substance, and the skilled workmen, with their families, were deported to Babylon. Some of the baser sort of the people doubtless continued to herd in the ruins; and among them may have been priests, for an interesting story (preserved probably by Baruch[4]) tells of a band of pilgrims from Shechem, Shilo and Samaria, intent upon still obeying the Deuteronomic behests and passing with every sign of mourning to sacrifice in the ruined house of the Lord. With this exception Jerusalem seems to have been

[1] 2 Kings xxv. 13-17, and the fuller text in Jer. lii. 17-23.

[2] 2 Kings xxv. 9. The last clause of this verse, *and every great house burned he with fire*, is probably from the awkward repetition a later addition. Still that is no reason why we should doubt so probable an assertion.

[3] *Ibid.* verse 10.

[4] Jer. xli. 4 ff.

avoided by the remnants of the conquered people. They set their political centre at Mizpah, and in all their proceedings which follow up to the migration to Egypt their ancient capital and its temple are ignored. This silence is significant. It is as if the shock of the fall of the City had been felt as a curse from heaven. Therefore there is practically no exaggeration in the statement which is so much doubted in that narrative of very mixed value, Jeremiah xliv.: *Ye have seen all the evil I have brought on Jerusalem and all the cities of Judah: they are a desolation, and no man dwelleth therein.*[1] Even the last clause may be accepted for Jerusalem at least, with only the slight qualification mentioned above. God's curse had fallen upon His ancient abode, and even the hopes of the people were hunted away from it.

How the hearts of the Exiles haunted her.

But if the Jews who remained in the land thus avoided Jerusalem, the hearts of her exiles continued to haunt her, and in the languor of their banishment still brooded over the scenes of her carnage and ruin. One of these visitants to that awful past has described it with a wealth and a vividness of detail which justify the conclusions we have reached from the meagre data of the records. The second and fourth chapters of the Book of Lamentations or Dirges are generally, and on the whole rightly, attributed to an eyewitness of the siege, the famine and the fall of Jerusalem. He composes, it is true, with deliberate art, ranging his verses by their initial letters so as to form two acrostic poems under the twenty-two letters of the alphabet. But this is the only symptom of his work which tempts us to

Lamentations ii., iv.

[1] Verse 2: note, however, the precedence given to Jerusalem.

think of him at a distance from the events he bewails; and it is overborne not merely by the vivid glimpses which we may reasonably suppose only a contemporary or eyewitness would have selected, but by the fervid passion of one who himself has suffered the horrors he paints, by the indignation he feels towards those who, still alive, were responsible for them, and by the unrelieved darkness and grief of both poems.

Their Date

All this implies a date before 561. The tradition that Jeremiah himself was the poet is due to the Greek version alone, and finds no support in the Hebrew, where the work is anonymous. The poetry, grand as it is, is inferior to Jeremiah's own; the 'rhetoric' with which it has not unjustly been charged could never be imputed to him. Nor had he the passion for the City or the Temple which these poems reveal. The fall of Jerusalem could not have come upon Jeremiah (as we have seen) with such a shock, unrelieved by hope.[1] The poet writes as if he had been among the dupes of the prophets, whom he bitterly blames. He stands outside both their circle and that of the priests. He is a layman, probably a member of one of the upper and ruling classes of the city, of whom the Book of Jeremiah gives us so much evidence. He is in sympathy with the delicately nurtured. The fall of the monarch and the princes, to whom he imputes no blame, he feels as a desecration. He is pious, but not after the temper of Jeremiah. The fact that, as he puts it, Jahweh could *take post as the foe* of His own people, that the Lord could become *the Enemy*, had startled and shocked him. He comes back to it with amazement

and Author.

[1] Above, pp. 224 ff., 235 f., 240 ff., 245 f., 251 ff.

even now, when he appreciates the ethical reasons. To a citizen of Jerusalem, then, we owe these poems, a member or client of one of the governing families; and he sings of what he has seen, and has been stunned by, but now he is roused to the blame and the bitterness of it all. Some who acknowledge the original experience of the writer have thought of him as the victim with his City of one of her subsequent disasters. But it is plainly of Nebuchadrezzar's overthrow that he writes; of a destruction of City and Temple which was never repeated except by Titus; and of the flight and capture of Ṣedeḳiah.[1]

A few words are necessary on the rhythm. This is the elegiac measure, of which Professor Budde first made us aware. It has gradually become probable that the dominant factor in Hebrew metre was accent or stress, and not the quality or the number of the syllables. The basis of the Ḳinah is a couplet, of which the first line with a rising cadence has generally three accented syllables; the second, with a falling cadence, generally two. These numbers may sometimes have varied; but the proportion seems to have been constant. In chapter ii. three couplets go to one acrostic verse: in chapter iv., two. The Hebrew text has passed through a succession of scribes who were aware of the verses but not of the structure of the lines. Therefore the text of the lines invites amendment; some as they stand are too short, some too long. But we must beware of applying the principle of the metre too rigorously to the text. Oriental artists have always avoided an absolute symmetry: and

Their Rhythm: the Ḳinah Measure.

[1] Jer. iv. 20.

it may be that some of the irregularities, which we are inclined to get rid of as editorial additions, belong to the original forms of the poems. The following translation aims at reproducing the cardinal features of the rhythm — alternate lines usually of three and two accents or stresses. I have had to admit three accents to some of the shorter lines, in which the epithet *daughter of Ṣion* occurs. For while the Hebrew for that has only one accent, the English has two. But, as I am convinced, for the reasons given above, that Hebrew poets were not averse to admitting irregularities to their rhythms, I have no bad conscience about such inevitable exceptions in the translation. In order to avoid similar ones in other lines, I have sometimes rendered *daughter of my people* simply by *my people.* And occasionally I have reversed the position of two lines for the sake of the English rhythm or for the sake of a better climax. Otherwise the translation follows the original line by line. Where it is not literal, this has been indicated in the notes. Words that have been supplied are in italics.

LAMENTATIONS II.

Circa 570 B.C.

1. ℵ

How the Lord beclouds with his wrath
The daughter of Ṣion.[1]
From heaven to earth hath he hurled
The pomp of Isräel.
He did not remember his Footstool
In the day of his wrath.

2. ב

The Lord hath engulfed without pity
The homesteads of Jacob.

[1] *Or,* How the cloud of the wrath of the Lord
Enshrouds the daughter of Ṣion.

He ruined [*and trod*][1] in his wrath
The strongholds of Judah.
He smote to the earth, he profaned
The realm and its princes.

3. ג

In the glow of his wrath he hath hewn
Each horn of Israël.
He drew back his right hand
In face of the foe.
On Jacob he burned like a fire,
Devouring all round.

4. ד

He hath bent his bow like a foe,
Taken post to besiege.[2]
He hath slain each delight of the eye,
In the tent of the daughter of Ṣion,
He hath poured out his fury like fire.
* * * * *[3]

5. ה

The Lord hath Himself turned foe
To envelope Israël,
Engulfing her palaces all,
Razing her strongholds.
On the daughter of Judah he lavished
Lamentation and woe.

6. ו

He hath torn from *his* Garden his Booth,[4]
Demolished his Temple,[5]
Jah hath forgotten in Ṣion
Tryst-day and Sabbath,
And spurned with the curse of his wrath
Monarch and priest.

---

[1] Word wanting in the original.

[2] Delete *his right hand* as too long for the rhythm and unnecessary.

[3] Line wanting in the original.

[4] Read מִגַּנּוֹ. The Garden, of course, is the Land, the Booth the Temple.

[5] The parallel line and the verb used in this line show that מוֹעֵד *tryst* means here the *place of tryst*. In the fourth line (as in verse 7) it means *the day* or *time of tryst*.

7. ז

The Lord hath discarded his Altar,
Scornèd his Sanctuary,
Hath locked in the grasp of the foe
Its fortifications.[1]
How they shout through the house of the Lord
Like one of the tryst-days!

8. ח

Of purpose did Jahweh destroy
The wall of the daughter of Ṣion.
He stretched out the line nor withdrew
His hand from the ruin.
Fortress and rampart he wrung,
Together they tottered.[2]

9. ט

Sunk to the earth are her gates,
Her bars he hath shattered.
Her king and her princes are exiles.[3]
The Torah is spent!
Even her prophets obtain not
Vision from Jahweh!

10. י

They sit on the ground and are dumb,
The elders of Ṣion;
They lift up the dust on their heads,
They gird them with sackcloth.
And brought to the ground are the heads
Of Jerusalem's maidens.

11. כ

Mine eyes are wasted with tears,
My bowels are troubled,
My heart[4] is poured out on the ground
For the wreck of my people,
For the infants and sucklings that perish
On the streets of the city.

[1] The sense is plain, the text uncertain.
[2] Heb.: *shrivelled, withered.*
[3] Literally: *are among the Gentiles.*
[4] Literally: *my liver.*

12. ל

They are saying to their mothers, Ah, where
Are the corn and the wine?
As like one that is wounded they swoon
On the streets of the City,
As they pour out their lives [*to the death*?][1]
On the laps of their mothers.

13. מ

How shall I rank,[2] how compare thee,
Daughter of Jerusalem?
How shall I liken, how comfort thee,
Virgin of Ṣion?
Vast as the sea is thy ruin;
Who will restore thee?

14. נ

Thy prophets? They dreamt[3] for thee
Falsehood and flattery.
They did not uncover thy guilt
To turn thy captivity,
But they dreamt[3] for thee runes
That lied and misled.[4]

15. ס

They were clapping their hands at thee
All who passed by.
They were hissing and wagging their heads
At the daughter of Jerusalem:—
'Is this what they called the Perfection of Beauty,
Joy of the earth!'

16. פ

Against thee they opened their mouths,
Thine enemies all,

---

[1] Another accented word is needed for this line.

[2] Read with Meinhold (quoted by Budde) אֶעֱרֹךְ (Isa. xl. 18): or at least with the Qerî אֶעִידֵךְ: *I take thee as a parable* or *warning*.

[3] Literally: *saw in vision*; used of prophetic vision, but here in a bad sense.

[4] Budde: *expulsion*.

Hissing and gnashing their teeth :[1]
'We have swallowed her up!
Just this is the day we have looked for,
We meet it, we see it!'

17. ע

Jahweh hath done what he planned,
Discharging his word.
As in days long ago he decreed,
Ruthless he ruins.
He hath given thee up to their joy,
Exalted[2] thy foes.

18. צ

Let thy heart cry aloud to the Lord,[3]
Clamour,[4] O Ṣion,
Let tears run down like a stream
By day and by night.
Give to thyself no respite,
No rest to thine eye.

19. ק

Get thee up, sing out in the night
At the start of the watches!
Pour out like water thy heart
In the face of the Lord!
Lift up before him thy hands
For the life of thy children.[5]

---

[1] Omit אָמְרוּ, *they said*, which is unnecessary to the meaning (having probably been inserted to mark what follows as a quotation), and makes an accent too many for the rhythm. With LXX. read בִּלַּעְנוּהָ.

[2] Omit קֶרֶן, *horn*, for the reasons given in the previous note.

[3] This line as it stands in the Hebrew gives no sense. Ṣion is addressed, and an imperative is necessary for the verb. Read צַעֲקִי לִבֵּךְ with Ewald and others; Löhr, צַעֲקִי קוֹלֵךְ. The Heb. has *daughter of Ṣion*.

[4] Read with Budde הֲמִי for the meaningless הוֹמַת; Löhr, בְּתוּלַת, *virgin*.

[5] To this verse a fourth couplet is added in the Hebrew :
They that have fainted for hunger
At the top of all the streets.

20. ר

'Behold, O our God, and consider
Whom thou maltreatest.
Shall women devour their offspring,
The infants they fondle?
Or men in thy sanctuary slay
The priest with the prophet?

21. ש

'They are strewn on the face of the streets,
Young men and old,
My youths and my virgins are fallen
At the edge of the sword.
In the day of thy wrath thou hast slaughtered,
Ruthlessly butchered.

22. ת

'Thou summonest as to a tryst
Terrors around.
Not one did escape or was left
In the day of his wrath.
Those whom I nursed and brought up
My foes have destroyed.'

LAMENTATIONS IV.

1. א

How bedimmed is the gold, how changed
The best of the gold!
The hallowèd jewels are poured
Down every street.[1]

2. ב

The children of Ṣion, the priceless,
Weighed against gold,[2]
Are reckoned as earthenware pitchers,
The work of the potter.

[1] The reference is not, as in the English versions, to the stones of the Temple, but to the *living stones* of the holy people.

[2] As we say: 'worth their weight in gold.'

3. ג

Even the jackals[1] give breast
And suckle their whelps,
But the daughters[2] of my people are cruel
As ostriches wild.

4. ד

Cleaves to the palate for thirst
Tongue of the nursling.
The children are asking for bread,
None to dispense it.

5. ה

They that were fed upon dainties
Rot on the streets;
They who were nourished in scarlet
Huddle on ashheaps.

6. ו

The guilt of my people[3] exceeded
The sins of Sĕdōm,[4]
Whose overthrow came in a flash
Ere a hand could be wrung.[5]

7. ז

Her princes were whiter than milk,
More radiant than snow.[6]
Ruddier in body than coral,
Veined with the sapphire.[7]

8. ח

Now darker than blackness their visage,
Unknown as they pass,[8]
Their skin drawn tight on their bones,
Dry as a stick.

---

[1] Others: *monsters*.
[2] So Bickell, reading בְּנוֹת for בַּת.
[3] *Of the daughter of my people*.
[4] The Hebrew for Sodom.
[5] Omit בָּהּ.
[6] In the original these two comparisons are reversed.
[7] Literally: *sapphire their threading* or *filaments*.
[8] Literally: *they are not recognised in the streets*.

9. מ

For the wounds of the sword are more kind
Than the wounds of starvation,[1]
They, *too*, drain their blood who are stabbed
By the dearth of the harvest.

10. י

The hands of the delicate women
Have sodden their children,
These are become their food,
In the wreck of my people.

11. כ

God hath accomplished his fury,
Exhausted his wrath,[2]
He kindled in Ṣion a fire,
It sapped her foundations.

12. ל

No kings of the earth had believed,
No man in the world,
That foe or besieger could enter
Jerusalem's gates.

13. מ

For the sins of her prophets *it was*,[3]
For the crimes of her priests,
They who had shed in her midst
Blood of the just.

14. נ

They straggle like the blind in the streets,
Polluted with blood.
What they could not endure, they must *now*
Sweep with their robes.

---

[1] Literally: *happier they who are stabbed with the sword than they who are stabbed by famine!*

[2] Budde omits חֲרוֹן as too much for the line, but in the construct before אַפּוֹ it may have no stress, and therefore suit the Hebrew cadence. In the English rhythm, however, we must omit it.

[3] To be regular, the Hebrew needs a third accented word.

15. ס

'Bear off, O unclean,' men adjure them,
'Bear off[1] and avoid!'
So they stagger and straggle about
Homeless for ever![2]

16. פ

Jahweh himself hath dispersed them
Out of his heeding;
None to pay homage to the priests
Nor court to the elders!

17. ע

We were straining, were straining[3] our eyes,
Our help was a dream.
While we looked for, we looked for a people
That never brought help.[4]

18. צ

They hunted our steps till we could not[5]
Walk our own streets.
Our days were cut short and completed,[6]
Our end was come.

19. ק

Swifter were they that pursued us
Than eagles of heaven.
They hunted us over the mountains,
They ambushed the desert.

---

[1] Delete the second סורו and אָמְרוּ בגוים, which are too many for the lines. The latter, as Budde remarks, is senseless.

[2] Literally: *They will no more become guests.*

[3] There is a repetition here of the musical syllable ênu. 'Odhênu tikhlenah 'enênu.'

[4] The allusion is plainly to the failure of Egypt to bring relief.

[5] Perhaps we should supply צר or צרים in the Hebrew of this line.

[6] Omit קרב as both obscure and superfluous for the rhythm.

20. ר

The breath of our life,[1] God's anointed
Was trapped in their toils,
Of whom we had said, we shall live
On in his shadow.[2]

21. ש

Be glad and rejoice, O daughter of Edom,
With a land to inhabit.[3]
To thee, too, the cup must pass round *till*
Thou 'rt drunk and dishevelled.

22. ת

Thy guilt is exhausted, Daughter of Ṣion.
No more shall he banish!
Daughter of Edom, He hath summed up thy guilt,
Thy sins are laid bare.

The Fall of the Real, the Rise of the Ideal Jerusalem.

In these poems a note is struck which echoes throughout the literature of the Exile: *God hath accomplished His fury, exhausted His wrath . . . Daughter of Ṣion, thy guilt is exhausted.* As the Evangelist of the Exile said of the City: *her iniquity is pardoned: she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins.*[4] Even the resources of the Divine wrath could do no more to Israel. The sufferings of the people had expiated their guilt. This is the stripped bed-rock, the dead foundation, from which Israel's hope was to revive. But there is another consequence. The actual Jerusalem has perished—and has had to perish—in order that the ideal Jerusalem, liberated from all the evil associations of the past, may be con-

[1] Literally: *the breath of our nostrils.*

[2] The Hebrew adds, *among the Gentiles.* The allusion in this verse is of course to the capture of Ṣedeḳiah.

[3] Omit עוֹד.

[4] 'Isaiah' xl. 1.

structed in the faith of her people. In this chapter we have seen what the overthrow of Jerusalem meant, how thorough, how terrible it was. In the next we are to trace the resurrection of the Ideal City in the hearts of her exiles. For the work of David, of Solomon, of Isaiah and of the Deuteronomists upon Jerusalem, required the Exile to make it perfect.

CHAPTER XI

THE IDEAL CITY AND THE REAL

IN previous chapters we have seen how very gradual was the rise of Jerusalem to pre-eminence among the shrines of Israel. Of her long and disturbed promotion, the two most rapid factors had been Isaiah's argument of the Divine purpose in her history and her vindication in 701 as the only inviolable city of the One God. But it was Josiah who rendered this rank indefeasible by realising the ideal of Deuteronomy and concentrating the national worship in the Temple. Jeremiah, it is true, scorned the popular superstitions which assumed the unique holiness of the Temple, and never set the City of his own day in any precedence to the rest of the land, save a precedence of sin. Yet the Deuteronomic conceptions prevailed; and in looking to the future, even Jeremiah saw the worship of the northern tribes returning to the Temple.

The Gradual Exaltation of Jerusalem: 1. Religious;

For such centralisation of the worship, the religious motives, as we have seen, were high and strong.[1] But they would hardly have achieved so full a victory without the aid of others, which were partly political, having begun with David, and partly economic, having been at work since at least the

2. Political and Economic.

[1] Above, pp. 176 f.

eighth century. The Monarchy implied the Capital, which replaced the tribal centres and attracted to itself the forces of the national life. To the same focus gathered the trade which 'Uzziah had fostered, and which must have largely increased through the reign of Manasseh, and by virtue of his position as a vassal in the wide empire of Assyria. Thus the urban forms of society replaced the agricultural, and the capital absorbed the political talent, the military strength and the industrial efficiency of the people. But the classes which represented these were the classes whom Nebuchadrezzar carried into captivity. It was the wisdom of this conqueror to leave to his new province her peasantry, with a few of their leaders; but he brought away with him the royal family, the statesmen, the soldiers, the priesthood, the men of substance and the artisans, all of whom he found concentrated in the capital. Thus it came about that the bulk of the Jewish exiles in Babylonia were the men of Jerusalem, to whom their City was everything, and the rest of the land but a fringe about her walls; while such of their fellow-captives as came from the country had lived for a generation under the spell of the religious rank conferred on her by the Deuteronomic reforms. Thus at the moment of the Exile, Jerusalem represented not only the actual and efficient nation, but the Divine idea for which the nation lived.

The Bulk of the Exiles were from Jerusalem.

These facts explain what would otherwise appear as a paradox. Jerusalem has hardly fallen, and been drained of her population, when we find her regarded in Jewish literature, not only as still alive, but as if she comprised in herself all the significance of Israel. This is the case even with Ezekiel, who

Jerusalem represents the Nation.

was so careful to keep in sight the rest of the land up to its ideal boundaries. Not only does he call Jerusalem the *gate of the peoples*,[1] thus emphasising the commercial power which the Jewish capital had gained through the long reign of Manasseh; not only does he see her restored, as the head and heart of the people, marvellously elevated and fenced from all profane influences by his disposition of the country about her; but to him Jerusalem is Israel. The nation's guilt in the past has been her guilt.[2] Their king is *the King of Jerusalem*.[3] It is Jerusalem that from beginning to end of the long history has conducted those foreign intrigues in which the national apostasy consists, and has been unfaithful with Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia.[4] Not Judah but Jerusalem is *Aholibah*, the adulterous wife of Jahweh.[5] To Ezekiel, then, the City not only is, but always has been, the People.

In Ezekiel.

As with Ezekiel, so with his contemporary, the author of the two great dirges, Lamentations ii. and iv.[6] These pour their grief chiefly on the City, and similarly use her name for the whole Nation. *Daughter of Sion* is as national a designation as *daughter of Edom*.[7] The body of Jerusalem is broken, but her spirit still lives, and is called by the poet to bewail her ruin and the death of her children; to pray for her restoration and revenge upon her enemies. We find the same in the somewhat later dirge, Lamentations i. This

In Lamentations.

[1] Ezek. xxvi. 2, after the LXX.
[2] Especially xvi., xxii., xxiii.
[3] xvii. 12.
[4] xvi., xxiii.
[5] xxiii.
[6] See previous chapter.
[7] Lam. iv. 22; cf. ii. 13. *Israel*, *Judah*, *daughter of Judah* are also used, but not so often.

breaks full upon Jerusalem, and contrasts her not with other towns, but with provinces and nations.

How alone sits the City
That swarmed with people!
Become as a widow is she,
Chief among nations.
Once princess of provinces,
Thrall is she now.[1]

Judah is mentioned but twice, the City much oftener. *Jacob* comes in but as a third between *Ṣion* and *Jerusalem*.

Ṣion spreadeth her hands,
None to relieve her.
Of Jacob hath Jahweh commanded:
'Round him his foes!'
Jerusalem hath come to be
Noisome among them.[2]

In all these dirges Jerusalem or Ṣion stands for the whole people of God; not merely mother or mistress of the nation, but the ideal figure in whom Israel is concentrated.

Such, too, is the sense in which she is regarded by the great prophet of the Exile, the author of 'Isaiah' xl.-lv.

In 'Isaiah' xl.-lv., and later Prophets;

In one passage he describes the exiles as *naming themselves by the Holy City*.[3] He accepts the identification. He opens by addressing *Jerusalem* and *my people* as one.[4] He is commanded to *say unto Ṣion, My people art thou*.[5] God, he says, *hath comforted His people, hath redeemed Jerusalem*.[6] *Behold, I have graven thee on the palms of my*

[1] Verse 1.
[2] Verse 17.
[3] 'Isaiah' xlviii. 2.
[4] 'Isaiah' xl. 1, 2.
[5] li. 16.
[6] lii. 9; cf. xlvi. 13.

hands, thy walls are continually before me.[1] When he addresses a promise to *Jacob-Israel*, it is *Ṣion-Jerusalem* who answers.[2] This identification, we must note, does not occur in the passages on the Servant of the Lord, who is always Israel or Jacob;[3] but everywhere else *Ṣion the daughter of Ṣion*, or *Jerusalem*, is the name of the banished Israel,[4] the spiritual figure of God's people. This use is continued by later prophets.[5]

The same note is struck in the Psalms of the Exile and of the Return. The Babylonian captivity is *the captivity of Ṣion*; *the songs of Jahweh* are *the songs of Ṣion*.[6] It is Jerusalem which the exiles cannot forget, and upon which they pour out their hearts. Psalm cxxxvii. is the work of a poet who had lived through the fall of the City and was carried to Babylon. The metre, as it now stands, is an irregular form of the Ḳinah.

and in the Psalms of Exile.

By the rivers of Babel we sat down and wept
Remembering Ṣion,
On the willows in the midst of her
We hung up our harps.
For there had our banishers asked us for songs,
Our torturers mirth, 'Ṣion's-songs sing us!'[7]
'How can we sing the songs of Jahweh
On the land of the stranger!'[8]

[1] 'Isaiah' xlix. 16.

[2] xlix. 14, compared with 5, 7, 13; see, too, xli. 27 compared with 8; li. 3 compared with 1, 2.

[3] xli. 8; xliv. 1, 21; xlv. 4; xlix. 3 (if, indeed, *Israel* be genuine in this passage).

[4] In addition to passages quoted above, lii. 2.

[5] 'Zeph.' iii. 14; cf. 'Isaiah' lix. 20, lxvi. 8.

[6] Ps. cxxvi. 1, cxxxvii. 3 f.

[7] By elision some reduce these lines to regularity.

[8] Michaelis aptly quotes Quintus Curtius, vi. 2: 'Captivæ feminarum jubebantur suo ritu canere in ludis, inconditum et abhorrens peregrinis auribus carmen.'

Jerusalem, if I forget thee,
My right hand be withered![1]
My tongue to my mouth cleave
If thou do not haunt me,
If I set not Jerusalem
Above my chief joy.

If the Fifty-first Psalm be wholly from the time of the Exile, then we see how the most spiritual of all the exilic writers was able to set the hope of the rebuilding of Ṣion and of the resumption of the legal sacrifices side by side with his expression of the faith that the *sacrifices of God are a broken spirit and a contrite heart.*

Summary: the Stages of Jerusalem's Rise.

Such, then, are the stages which we have been able to trace in the gradual exaltation of Jerusalem: her choice by David as the Capital; the building of her Temple by Solomon; the revelation by Isaiah of God's purpose in her history, with the seal put upon this by her deliverance in 701; the concentration of the national worship upon the Temple by Josiah; and now her captivity, effecting the release of her life from the guilt and the habits of a history which, however divinely guided, had been full of apostasy, and affording to her children the vision of her, seen through the distance and the tears of exile, as the image and the name of the spiritual people of God. Hereafter, whatever may happen to her earthly frame, there will still be, free of its fluctuating fortunes, a Ṣion and Jerusalem—ideal and immortal. It is from such premises that future generations will construct their doctrines of *the new Jerusalem* and *the heavenly Jerusalem*, the first sketches of which are indeed already traced by Ezekiel.

Her Apotheosis.

[1] So Grätz, transposing the letters תשכח *forget*, to תכחש *be withered.*

Our present duty, however, is to follow the hopes of the restoration of the earthly Sion, till after many disappointments and delays these resulted in the return of some of her people, the rebuilding of the Temple, and then many years later the rebuilding of the City's walls and the organisation of the community under their full Law.

Restoration of the earthly City.

When the Babylonian exiles began to form such hopes with any distinctness is uncertain. A number of predictions, probably from the period of the Exile, are found in the Book of Jeremiah, but it is impossible to give them an exact date. We must confine ourselves to those whose years we can fix with some approximation. The writers of Lamentations ii. and iv., about 570, and of Lamentations i. and Psalm cxxxvii., probably somewhat later, are stunned by the completeness of the City's ruin and the utterness of her fall. None of them speculate upon any recovery which may come to her either through the clemency of her destroyers,[1] or by their overthrow; for though this is described with sufficient vividness, it is felt that the matter is one between God and His people. *He* has been *the Foe*, *He has ruthlessly ruined and slaughtered.* Hence the finality of the disaster: divinely planned and foretold and divinely performed. Yet just because the worst possible has happened, the air is at last clear. Even God can have nothing left to wreak upon His people. Their *guilt is exhausted*, and His wrath must now turn on their enemies.[2] To so full an end did the

First Hopes of it and their Foundation.

[1] It was about 560 that Jehoiakin or Jekoniah was kindly treated by the Babylonian king: 2 Kings xxv. 27 ff.

[2] Lam. i. 21, 22; iv. 22; Ps. cxxxvii. 7-9.

Jews believe their sacred history to have run; from so low and bare a level must it start again.[1]

It is to this mood of the exiles that their great Evangelist addresses his gospel, weaving his verse to the same measure as that of their dirges.[2]

> *'Comfort ye, comfort my people,'*
> *Sayeth your God.*
> *'Speak home to the heart of Jerusalem*
> *And call to her,*
> *That fulfilled is her servitude,*
> *Her guilt is discharged;*
> *From the hand of the Lord she hath gotten*
> *Double her sins.'*[3]

But not immediately does the prophet pass to the return and the restoration. It is his greatness (we see from the arguments which follow) to conceive of his task as first and mainly religious; the creation of faith in God, the rousing of the nation's conscience to their calling, the purging of their mind from all prejudice as to the ways the Divine action shall take. Therefore, to begin with, he speaks to his people of God; in aspects of His majesty so sovereign and omnipotent that not only must the night of despair vanish before them, but Israel's trust in Him shall include a willingness to believe in two new and very wonderful things: their world-wide destiny, and the selection, not of one of their own princes, but of a Gentile conqueror, to be their deliverer. Thus out of all that glory of God in nature, and in history, which the opening chapters so greatly unfold—His sway of the

Their Religious Strength, 'Isaiah' xl. ff.

[1] Compare above, p. 283.

[2] The *Kīnah* or Elegiac: alternate lines of usually three and two beats or accents.

[3] 'Isaiah' xl. 1, 2.

stars and of the nations, His tenderness to His people and His passion to redeem them—there issue gradually the two figures of the Servant and the Anointed; the blind and plundered captive of Babylon, whom God yet destines to be the herald of His religion to the ends of the earth; and the visible and accredited conqueror, whom God has raised *from the north, from the east*, anywhere out of the far and the unknown, and now—somewhere between 545 and 538—is leading against Babylon to effect His judgment on the tyrant and to set His people free. Only when this great prologue has been achieved do there break the particular promises of the return and the rebuilding:—

Who saith to the City, Be peopled,
To the Temple, Be founded!
To the towns of Judah, Be built,
Her ruins I raise.
Who saith to the flood, Be dry,
The streams will I parch.
Who saith to Cyrus, My friend,
My purpose he perfects.
Thus saith Jahweh, the God,
Of Cyrus, his christ;
Whose right hand I grasped
To bring down the nations,
To open before him the doors,
No gate shall be closed.[1]
I, I have raised him in troth;[2]
His ways will I level.
'Tis he who shall build up My City,
My captives send forth.

[1] 'Isaiah' xliv. 26-xlv. 1: reconstructed by bringing the last clause of xliv. 28 to 26, and adding from the LXX. *the God* to xlv. 1; so Duhm, Cheyne, Marti. It is, of course, conjectural, but the result renders the measure regular. On this ground I have omitted a clause in xlv. 1.

[2] xlv. 13. The English phrase, *in troth*, but imperfectly renders בצדק, *in righteousness*, which does not refer to the character of Cyrus, but to that of the action of God, who means to see Cyrus through.

The same exalted comforter, or (as some think) another, puts no limit to the numbers who shall return, or to the glory of the restoration. *Then thou wilt be too narrow for thine inhabitants . . . thou wilt say in thine heart, Who hath borne me these? . . . Lo, I was left solitary; these, where were they?*[1]

Arouse thee, arouse thee, put on
Thy power, O Sion!
Thy glorious apparel put on,
City of Holiness!
Rise, shake the dust from thee,
Captive Jerusalem!
Loosen thy shackles, O captive
Daughter of Sion![2]
How beautiful on the mountains
The feet of the herald!
Who publisheth peace and good news,
Proclaiming salvation,
Who saith to [the daughter of] Sion:
Reigneth thy God!
Hark, 'tis thy sentinels calling!
Together they shout,
As the Lord, eye to eye, they behold
Returning to Sion.
'Break ye out, sing together,
Jerusalem's ruins,
For Jahweh hath pitied His people,
Delivered Jerusalem.'[3]

Cyrus, Master of Babylon.

Cyrus the Great became master of Babylon and the Babylonian Empire in 538. He entered the city without fighting; welcomed and escorted (he claims) by her deity Marduk, who recognised him as his vicegerent.[4] He speaks of restoring to their own shrines the other Assyrian and Babylonian gods whom Nabonidus had removed to Babylon,

[1] 'Isaiah' xlix. 21. LXX. reads: *These of mine, where were they?*
[2] lii. 1, 2. [3] lii. 7-9. [4] The Cyrus Cylinder.

and of giving them back their lands. But he says nothing of the Jews or of any other of the tribes captive on Babylonian soil.

At this point the compiler of the Book of 'Ezra takes up the story. According to him, Cyrus, soon after his capture of Babylon, gave permission to the Jews to return; and immediately, it would seem,[1] over forty thousand left Babylonia for Jerusalem, under *Sheshbaṣṣar, prince of Judah*, who is described in an Aramaic document incorporated by the compiler, as Peḥah, or *governor of a province*, and as laying the foundation of the Temple.[2] There is also mentioned in command of the people a Tirshatha (Persian Tarsāta), similarly *governor of a province*.[3] On their arrival at Jerusalem, *in the seventh month*,[4] the people are said to be under Jeshua' ben-Joṣadaḳ and Zerubbabel ben-She'alti'el,[5] who is called by his contemporary Ḥaggai, *Peḥah*, or *governor, of Judah*.[6] The returned exiles at once rebuild the altar of the burnt-offering, resume the morning and evening sacrifices, keep the feast of Tabernacles and thereafter *all the feasts of Jahweh*; and engage masons and carpenters to erect the Temple, and Phœnicians to bring cedar from Lebanon.[7] Another section from the compiler's hand[8] states that they set to work in *the second month of the second year*; but certain *adversaries*,[9] by whom the compiler means Samaritans, demanded a

Permits the Jews to return.

Resumption of the Worship in Jerusalem.

[1] Ezra i. compared with ii. 1.
[2] Ezra v. 14, 16.
[3] *Ibid.* ii. 63.
[4] We are not told the year: 538 or 537.
[5] Ezra iii. 2, like Ezra i. 1-8, from the compiler.
[6] Haggai i. 14; ii. 2, 21.
[7] Ezra iii. 3-7.
[8] *Ibid.* 8-13.
[9] iv. 1 ff.

share in the work, and when Jeshua' and Zerubbabel refused this, *the people of the land* frustrated the building, and it was postponed till the reign of Darius; to the second year of which, 520, Ḥaggai and Zechariah assign the beginning of new measures to build the Temple.

The present form of the Book of 'Ezra is so late, and the different sections so confused, we cannot be surprised that all its data have been questioned. Following Kosters,[1] a number of scholars have recently asserted (1) that there was no attempt to build the Temple before 520; (2) that there was no return of exiles under Cyrus; and (3) that when the Temple was built the work was that of Jews who had never left the country. I have elsewhere discussed these negative theories,[2] and here need give only a summary of my argument against them.

Doubts of the Narrative.

It is true that Ḥaggai and Zechariah do not speak of a Return, nor call the builders of the Temple Golah or B'ne hag-Golah, *Captivity* or *Sons of the Captivity*, but simply *this people*, or *remnant of the people*, or *Judah*. But we must remember that prophets bent, as these two were, upon encouraging the people to use their own resources and trust in God, had little reason for appealing either to the Return, or to the royal power which had decreed the rebuilding of the Temple. All the less reason had they that the first effects of the Return were, in contrast with the promises of the 'Second Isaiah,' so bitterly disappointing. Besides, if Ḥaggai ignores any Return in the past, he equally ignores a Return to come, and in

Argument for the Reality of the Return under Cyrus.

[1] *Het Herstel van Israel*, 1894; German translation by Basedow, 1896.
[2] *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii. chap. xvi.

fact says nothing at all about the Exile itself. The argument from his silence, therefore, proves nothing. On the other hand, the testimony that a Return did take place under Cyrus cannot be wholly denied. Even if we set aside the list of the returned families as belonging to a later date, we still have the Aramaic document, which agrees with Ḥaggai and Zechariah in assigning the real beginnings of the new Temple to the second year of Darius, under the leadership of Jeshua' and Zerubbabel;[1] and therefore need not be disbelieved in its statement of the facts under Cyrus. 'Ezra, too, talks of the Golah in a way[2] which shows that he means by it not the Jews who came up from Babylon with himself, but an older community whom he found in Judah. That such had returned under Cyrus, and at once attempted the rebuilding of the Temple, is in itself extremely probable. The real effective Jerusalem, as we have seen, was the Jerusalem in Exile. It was among the Exiles that upon the advance of Cyrus the hopes of restoration had so confidently appeared, that they expressed them as if already realised. We cannot believe that none of these enthusiasts took advantage of the opportunity which there can be no doubt it was consonant to the whole policy of Cyrus to give them, but waited for nearly a century before seeking to return, and meantime left the rebuilding of the Temple to *the people of the land*, who were not only unlikely to have energy for the work, but would have done it in a very different spirit to that which inspires the prophecies of Ḥaggai and Zechariah. 'Without the leaven of the Golah, the Judaism of Palestine is in its origin incomprehensible.'[3] And finally, if *the people of the land* had effected by

[1] Ezra iv. 24, etc. [2] ix. 4; x. 6, 7. [3] Wellhausen, *Geschichte*, p. 160.

themselves the restoration of the Temple, it would not have been possible to treat them with the contempt which was shown by those exiles who returned under 'Ezra and Neḥemiah. These considerations appear to render a Return under Cyrus and an immediate attempt to rebuild the Temple very probable. Indeed, some of the scholars who have called Kosters' conclusions inevitable, recognise that the history of Jerusalem before the arrival of 'Ezra cannot be explained except by the presence of those higher elements of the national life which had been fostered in Babylonia. They admit a return of some of the exiles before the days of Ḥaggai.

Its probable Course.

Accordingly the probable course of events was as follows. Cyrus gave orders for the reconstruction of the Temple, and despatched to Jerusalem Sheshbaṣṣar, an imperial officer, with an escort of soldiers. Some Jews must have accompanied him, both priests and laymen, of a rank suitable to the high purpose before them. The Book of 'Ezra includes Jeshua' and Zerubbabel.[1] That a more general permission was given to the Exiles to return seems certain from the urgency of the appeals to take advantage of it, which their prophet addressed to them.[2] But, as we shall see, few appear to have responded. Those who did return first rebuilt the altar of the burnt-offering. There is no record, and but little probability,[3] of this having been regularly used since the fall of the City. We saw how Jerusalem was avoided by the Jews left in the land,

[1] Professor Sellin, on the ground of Zech. iii. 8*b*, vi. 12, 13, 15, argues that Zerubbabel did not reach Jerusalem till after Zechariah had begun to prophesy, but the verses quoted are inconclusive.

[2] Isa. xlviii. 20; lii. 11; lv.

[3] See above, p. 270, for proof of an occasional worship.

and Ezekiel charges them with idolatry.[1] Had sacrifice been continued, the fact must have been memorable enough to be handed down. But now the morning and evening oblations were resumed, the Feast of Tabernacles observed and afterwards the other feasts. Next Sheshbaṣṣar laid the foundation-stone of the Temple and began the building.[2] Obstruction arose from two directions. The people left in the land had from the very beginning claimed a right to it;[3] and now, we are told, *they weakened the hands of the people of Judah*—these the Exiles claimed to be, in harmony with the passages quoted above—*intimidated them from building, and hired counsellors against them all the days of Cyrus, even until the reign of Darius*.[4] Thus from the very foundation of the new Temple began those intrigues with their foreign lords which faction wages against faction down to the end of the City's history. The other source of hostility was also to prove perennial. The Samaritans, claiming to have worshipped Jahweh since the days of Asarḥaddon,[5] asserted now or later their right to a share in the building of the Temple. If all the host of exiles, registered in 'Ezra ii., had been present at this time in Jerusalem, they could, with the aid of the Imperial authority, easily have overcome the opposition. That this prevailed shows how small a number had really returned. They now found themselves far from their patron and with no hold as yet upon the land they had come to. The very material they required was in the hands of their adversaries. Stone lay about them in

Foundation of Second Temple, *c.* 536.

Obstruction to the Building

[1] Ezek. xxxiii. 24 f. [2] Ezra v. 16. [3] Ezek. xxxiii. 24.
[4] Ezra iv. 4, 5. [5] ? Sargon, iv. 2; cf. 2 Kings xvii. 27.

plenty, but even common timber grew at a distance, and if the story be correct that they made a contract for cedar with the Phœnicians, this had to be carried from Joppa by roads which were either in the possession of, or open to, the Samaritans.[1] Apparently the authors of the imperial mandate had not foreseen such obstacles, and its officers felt that their powers were exhausted. Sheshbaṣṣar seems to have gone back to Babylon. Cyrus died in 529 and was succeeded by Cambyses (529-522), who can have had little sympathy with Jewish ambitions. Bad seasons ensued. The new colonists had to provide for their own shelter and sustenance, and their hearts, like those of many other emigrants to a promised land, grew callous to higher interests. We cannot be surprised that the Temple was neglected, or that the builders began to explain the disillusions of the Return by arguing that God's time for the restoration of His house had not yet come.[2]

till 522 B.C.

To such a state of mind the prophet Ḥaggai addressed himself upon one of those political occasions, which prophecy had always been ready to use. In 521 a new king had ascended the Persian throne, Darius, son of Hystaspes, and political agitations were impending. Like their Syrian neighbours, the Jews remained loyal to the throne, and appear as a reward to have had a scion of their own royal house, Zerubbabel, confirmed, or now for the first time appointed, as their Peḥah or governor. To him and to Jeshua' the high priest, on the first day of the sixth month of the second year of Darius—that is on the festival of a new moon,

The work of Haggai, 520.

[1] See the *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 219 f., for a modern analogy.
[2] Haggai i. 2.

520 B.C.—Haggai brought the word of the Lord: a command to build the Temple. It is significant that to men whose experience had fallen so far short of the former promises, the message did not repeat the glories of these. Like every living word of God, it struck the immediate situation, and summoned the people to the duty lying within reach of them. *Go up into the mountain*—the hill country of Judah—*and bring in timber and build the House, that I may take pleasure in it and show My glory, saith Jahweh.*[1] His First Oracle. There is no talk here of Phœnician cedar, nor as yet of the desirable things of the nations miraculously poured into the City's lap. Let the people do what they could for themselves; this was the indispensable condition of the Lord showing His glory. The appeal to their conscience reached it. *God stirred the spirit of Zerubbabel, and the spirit of Jehoshua'*,[2] *and the spirit of all the rest of the people; and they went and did work in the House of their God on the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month.* The unflattering words of the prophet had effected a purely spiritual result. Not in vain had the people suffered disillusion under Cyrus, if now their history was to start again from sources so pure.

On the twenty-first day of the next month, when the people had worked long enough to realise the scarcity of their materials and began to murmur that the new Temple would never be like the old, His other Oracles. Haggai came with another word, this time of encouragement and of hope. *Courage, all ye people. Get to work, for I am with you—oracle of Jahweh of Hosts—and My Spirit stands in your midst! It is but a little while*

[1] Hag. i. 8.

[2] Jehoshua' is the full form of Jeshua'.

and I will shake heaven and earth, . . . and the costly things of all nations shall come in, and I will fill this house with glory. Mine is the silver and mine the gold. Greater shall the later glory of this house be than the former, saith Jahweh of Hosts, and in this place will I give peace.[1] In two other oracles Ḥaggai explained to the impatient people the tardiness of the moral and material results of their vigour, and promised to Zerubbabel, in an impending overturn of the nations, the manifest recognition of his God.[2]

Zechariah's Oracles, 520-516.

There is need only to summarise the oracles of Zechariah. (1) Between the second and third oracles of Ḥaggai, he published a word that affirmed their place in the succession of the prophets of Israel;[3] (2) two months later, in January or February 519, came his Eight Visions,[4] of which the third showed Jerusalem rebuilt no longer as a narrow fortress but spread abroad for the multitude of her population, and the fourth Jeshua' vindicated from Satan his Accuser, cleansed from his foul garments and invested with the apparel of his office; (3) the Visions are followed by an undated oracle, on the use of gifts which have arrived from Babylonia; from the silver and the gold a crown is to be made, and, according to the present form of the text, to be placed on the head of Jeshua'. But there is evidence that it was originally meant for Zerubbabel, at whose right hand the priest is to stand, and there shall be peace between them.[5] (4) In the ninth month of the fourth year of Darius, when the Temple was approaching completion, Zechariah gave a

[1] Hag. ii. 6-9. [2] ii. 10-19, 20-23. [3] Zech. i. 1-6.
[4] Zech. i. 7-vi. 8. [5] vi. 9-15. See vol. i. 381 f.

historical explanation of how the Fasts of the Exile arose.[1] (5) And finally there are ten undated oracles[2] summarising all Zechariah's teaching up to the question of the cessation of the Fasts upon the completion of the Temple in 516, with promises for the future. Jerusalem shall be restored with fulness of old folk and children in her streets. Her people shall return from east and west. God's wrath towards her has changed to grace; but her people themselves must do truth and justice, ceasing from perjury and thoughts of evil against each other. The Fasts instituted to commemorate her siege and overthrow shall be replaced by festivals; and the Gentiles shall come to worship in her the God of Israel.

These prophecies of Zechariah reveal, during the years that the Temple was building, certain processes which were characteristic of, and results which were decisive for, the whole of the subsequent history of Jerusalem. There was apparently a contest between the civil and religious heads of the community for the control of the Temple and its environs. Here before the Exile the king was paramount, and it was natural for Zerubbabel to claim to continue his authority. But the vision of the prophet decided in favour of the high priest,[3] and to him the crown was ultimately given that at first had been designed for the Prince.[4] Zerubbabel, indeed, from what cause we know not, disappears. In the last stages of the building of the Temple we do not hear of a Persian governor, but of *the elders of the Jews*.[5] In fact, the exiles, with or without struggles

Supremacy of the Priest.

[1] Zech. vii. [2] viii. [3] iii. [4] vi. 9-15.
[5] Ezra v. 3-vi. 15; cf. Guthe, *Geschichte*, p. 268.

for their national independence, settled down to that state of life which lasted in Jerusalem till the times of the Maccabees.[1] 'The exiles returned from Babylon to found not a kingdom but a church.'[2] 'Israel is no longer a kingdom but a colony':[3] a colony in their own land indeed, but the heart and efficiency of the nation are still in Babylonia, where the system is being constructed under which their life for centuries shall be subject to priestly government and ideals.

Civic hopes.

Yet the civic hopes which the older prophecy had revealed for Jerusalem are not abandoned. Starting from the glowing love of Jahweh for His people, the last prophecies of Zechariah not only promise a full glory to her restoration and a world about her converted to faith in her God, but the conversion of her citizens from the jealousy and fierce rivalry which beset them to justice, kindness and hearty labour bringing forth a great prosperity. *Judge true judgment and practise loyalty and love every man with his brother. Oppress not the widow nor the orphan, the stranger nor the poor, and plan not evil in your hearts every man against his brother. . . . For Jerusalem shall be called the City of Troth. . . . There shall yet be old men and old women sitting in the streets of Jerusalem, and the streets of the City shall be full of boys and of girls, at play in her streets.*

[1] See vol. i. 380 ff.

[2] Kirkpatrick.

[3] *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 189.

CHAPTER XII

THE SECOND TEMPLE, FROM ZECHARIAH TO 'MALACHI'

516-460 B.C.

THE builders of the Second Temple completed their work in March 516 B.C., the last month of the sixth year of Darius.[1] The data of its size, appearance and furniture are meagre and ambiguous. No inference can be drawn from the words of Ḥaggai,[2] that in the eyes of them who had seen Solomon's Temple, the new House was as nothing; for when the prophet spoke the builders had been but a few weeks at work. Their disappointment was not with the scale of their building, which was probably that of the old one, but with the lack of materials to enrich it, for the prophet answers them that God will provide these later.[3] Nor does Ḥaggai's expression, *Who among you is left that saw this House in its former glory*, imply, as has been supposed,[4] that the fabric of the old House, though dilapidated, was still standing. This is contradicted by the thoroughness with which annalists and poets alike describe the destruction by Nebuchad-

Completion of the Second Temple: 516.

[1] Adar, the last of the Babylonian year; on the 3rd day, according to the Aramaic document in the Book of Ezra, vi. 15; on the 23rd, according to 1 Esdras.

[2] Hag. ii. 3. [3] ii. 7, 8. [4] Guthe, *Gesch.* 264; cf. 270.

rezzar, and by the accounts of the rebuilding under Darius. The latter was started from the foundation, *before a stone was laid on a stone*,[1] and it took four and a half years to accomplish—ample time for an entire reconstruction, for which little or no quarrying would be required. It is most probable that the outlines of the First Temple could still be traced, and that these were followed in the reconstruction, particularly of the Sanctuary itself.[2] This consisted, as before, of two parts: the Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies, the *hêkal* and the *dĕbîr*.[3] In front of the *hêkal* was the *'ulam*, the Porch or Vestibule. There were also, as formerly, *chambers* or *cells*, built against the Sanctuary and round its court.[4]

On the lines of the First.

It is impossible to determine exactly what the furniture of the Sanctuary was before the institution by 'Ezra and Nehemiah of the Priestly Code. The historical references to the subject are all later than this. Only this is certain: that the Holy of Holies, which in Solomon's Temple had held the Ark, was in

Its furnishings.

[1] Hag. ii. 15.

[2] Ezra vi. 3 states that Cyrus had decreed that the new Temple should be 60 cubits high and 60 broad (Solomon's having been 60 long, 20 broad, and 30 high). But the text of this verse is not reliable. Ewald (*Hist.*, Eng. tr., v. 113) accepts the height of 60 cubits, but confines the enlargement to the external three-storied building. Josephus (*C. Apion.* i. 22) quotes from the Περὶ Ἰουδαίων—a work ascribed to Hecatæus of Abdera, *c.* 300 B.C., perhaps wrongly, but quoted as early as the Letter of Aristeas, *c.* 200 B.C. (?) —a statement that the whole area of the Second Temple, within the *enceinte* of its court, was 5 plethra long by 100 (Greek) cubits broad, either 505 ft. by 172½ or 485½ ft. by 145 ; see below, Ch. XVI.

[3] See above, pp. 62 f.

[4] Ezra viii. 29 ; Neh. x. 37 f. ; xiii. 4, 7-9. Cf. *the storehouse* for tithes, Mal. iii. 10. On these *chambers* in the First Temple see above, pp. 62 f. 1 Macc. iv. 38, 57 describes παστοφορεῖα, or priests' cells, as by the gates in the walls of the court.

Zerubbabel's empty;[1] and that in the Holy Place, which was probably already separated from the inner sanctuary by a curtain,[2] stood the Table of Shewbread, and, instead of the former ten several candlesticks, one seven-branched Lamp.[3]

What provision was made for the offering of incense? It is uncertain whether incense had been used in the worship of Israel before the reign of Manasseh. There is no clear mention of it, in either the earlier historical books, or the first two codes, or the descriptions of ritual by the eighth-century prophets.[4] Jeremiah is the earliest to speak of frankincense, and as though it were an innovation in the worship of Jahweh.[5] Ezekiel is the first to use the term *ḳeṭoreth*, which in the earlier literature means *the*

Provision for Incense.

[1] Cf. *Talm. Bab.* 'Yoma,' 22*b*. Josephus, in a well-known passage, v. *B.J.* v. 5, says of the Holy of Holies, ἔκειτο δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐν αὐτῷ: cf. the 'inania arcana' of Tac. *Hist.* v. 9. According to the *Mishna*, 'Yoma,' v. 2, the foundation stone אֶבֶן שְׁתִיָּה, three finger-breadths high, lay in the *dêbir*, and on it the high priest laid his censer; and (later) on the day of Atonement set the blood. On the disappearance of the Ark see above, p. 256.

[2] Later on *veils or curtains* hung in the doorways both of the sanctuary and the Holy of Holies (1 Macc. i. 22; iv. 51), as in the description of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxvi. 31, 36).

[3] On the Table of Shewbread see above, p. 63. On the seven-branched Lamp, Zech. iv. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 21; iv. 49, 50; Jos. xiv., *Ant.* iv. 4. Ezekiel xli. 22 and xliv. 16 f. prescribes an altar-like table of wood, *the table before Jahweh*, and he speaks of the priests as serving the table.

[4] In Deut. xxxiii. 10 and Isa. i. 13, קְטֹרֶת or קְטֹרָה, rendered *incense* in the English versions, is the *smoke of the burnt-offering*, and so with the use of the verb קִטֵּר (1 Sam. ii. 16; Amos iv. 5). All these refer to Israel's ritual. In the same sense the verb is used of heathen ritual: Hos. iv. 13, xi. 2; Jer. xix. 13 (?). Before the 7th century there is no proof that incense was employed in Israel, though in use in Babylonian and Egyptian temples from a very early date, and at Taanach by the 8th century (next page, *n.* 4). See vol. i. 333; vol. ii. 63 *n.* 2.

[5] לְבֹנָה. Jer. vi. 20.

smoke or *savour of the burnt offering*, for a cloud of incense smoke, and he does so in connection with idolatrous worship.[1] The earliest prophet to imply that incense may have a place in the legal worship of Israel is the great Evangelist of the Exile;[2] and after the Return, some time (as we shall see) before 450 B.C., another prophet predicts that in the approaching glory of Jerusalem frankincense shall be brought to her from Sheba.[3] We may therefore assume that even before the worship was arranged in conformity with the Priestly Code, which makes ample provision for incense, the latter was used in the Second Temple. But we cannot tell whether as yet it was burned only in censers in the hands of the priests, or whether the altar of incense which afterwards stood in the Holy Place of the Second Temple was there from the beginning.[4]

The only altar mentioned during this period[5] is that of the burnt-offering raised by the returned exiles in 536 on the site of Solomon's in the court before the Sanctuary. Josephus quotes Hecatæus, who describes it as a square of twenty cubits and ten in height, built of undressed stones.[6] Probably this was the same which stood there from the days of the Return;

Altar of Burnt-Offering.

[1] In Ezek. xvi. 18 and xxiii. 41, where Jahweh charges His people with offering קְטָרְתִּי (Eng. versions, *mine incense*) to idols, it is doubtful whether *incense* or *the smoke of the burnt offering* is intended.

[2] 'Isa.' xliii. 23.

[3] 'Isa.' lx. 6. In the contemporary 'Malachi,' i. 11, מְקֻטָּר (if genuine?) means only *is burnt* or *sacrificed*; cf. the Deuteronomic passage, 1 Sam. ii. 28.

[4] Hecatæus (above, 306 *n.* 2) describes in the Sanctuary an altar as well as a lamp, both of gold. Ezekiel (see note 3 on previous page) prescribes no altar in the Sanctuary, but *an altar-like table*, i.e. of the shewbread. Two incense altars have been unearthed at Taanach, *M.u.N.D.P.V.* 1902, 35; 1903, 2.

[5] 'Mal.' i. 10 f. [6] *C. Apion.* i. 22; cf. 1 Macc. iv. 44, 47.

it occupied, of course, the site of Solomon's altar.[1] The Pillars Yakîn and Boaz would not be repeated in consequence of the Deuteronomic Law against the Maṣṣeboth; nor was the Bronze Sea with its twelve bronze bulls.[2]

The Court before the Sanctuary had walls with doors.[3] But there were more courts than one: *they that have gathered the wine*, says a prophet already cited,[4] *shall drink it in the courts of my Sanctuary*. Probably the Courts were two,[5] as in the programme of Ezekiel. But, contrary to his reservation of the Inner Court to the priests, the laity (as we see from the verse just quoted) were admitted to both; and this right seems to have lasted till the time of Alexander Jannæus, who as he stood by the Altar was pelted with citrons by a crowd of worshippers, and retaliated by building a wooden fence round the Altar, within which only priests were admitted.[6] To the gates of these Courts we will return with Nehemiah.

The Temple Courts.

Thus, then, stood the Second Temple on the lines of, and as large as, the First, but doubtless barer and more rough: the work of a smaller and poorer people, without commerce, threatened by many adversaries, and with the walls of their City still in ruin. One great difference between the new and the old House must have impressed itself upon the people, and was certainly significant of their future history. The First Temple had risen as but a part of a

No Palace or Judgment Halls.

[1] See above, p. 60.

[2] See above, pp. 65 f., 76; the first reference to a laver in the Second Temple is in the *Mishna*, 'Middoth,' iii. 6.

[3] 'Mal.' i. 10. [4] 'Isa.' lxii. 9. [5] See above, pp. 256 f.

[6] Josephus, xiii. *Ant.* xiii. 5.

great complex of royal buildings—a palace, a judgment hall, barracks and an arsenal—round the whole of which there ran one enclosure. Of these none was now rebuilt. The Second Temple rose alone, without civic or political rival, a religious Capitol within its own courts and surrounding wall. This wall is probably referred to in the ambiguous statement of the Book of 'Ezra: *three courses of great stones and a course of new timber*.[1]

Various Views of the Relation of God to the Temple:—

For Israel as a whole the completion of the Temple meant the full return of their God to Jerusalem. We have already seen in what various and even conflicting forms this faith might be held.

1. under Solomon.

At Solomon's time the Presence of God had been conceived as entering with the Ark into the inner shrine of the Temple and finding there *a habitation for ever*;[2] yet this conception was not held in so exclusive a fashion as to forbid His worship at other sanctuaries throughout the land. But when these were abolished by Josiah, and the national worship, in conformity with the Deuteronomic principles, was confined to the Temple, new problems were set to Israel's thoughts about the Divine Presence. Of the practical necessity for this centralisation there can be no doubt. It was required in the interests not only of a pure ritual, but of those spiritual conceptions of the Godhead which to our mind are difficult to harmonise with it;[3] and that was why even so spiritual a prophet as Jeremiah acquiesced in the centralisation of

[1] Ezra vi. 4; LXX., *one course of timber*. Cf. 1 Kings vi. 36, where the wall of the single court of the First Temple is said to have *three courses of hewn stones and a course of cedar beams*.

[2] See above, pp. 73 f., 80 f.

[3] See above, pp. 176 f., 212 f.

the worship. But these very conceptions of God, in the interests of which the practice of His Presence was confined to the Temple, were themselves the contradiction of the idea that He dwelt only there. No part of heaven or earth could contain the omnipresent Deity who had made all. If it was irrational to embody Him in an image carven by men's hands, it was equally so to suppose Him confined to a house built by the same. And as the Deuteronomists condemned the former of these errors, so from their phraseology they appear to have guarded against the latter. The prayer of Solomon at the Dedication of the Temple which they have given us, contains the question, *Will God indeed dwell on the earth? Lo, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee, how much less this House that I have builded?*[1] And they repeatedly assert that it is *His Name* which God has *set* or *caused to dwell there*, which means that in the Temple men may call upon Him, and may know what He is as they cannot do anywhere else on earth;[2] or, as one passage explains, the Temple is the place where *His Eyes and Heart may be constantly*,[3] where Israel may be sure of His regard and of His answer to their prayers. So practical was the Deuteronomists' conception of God's particular connection with the Temple! But we have seen how it was abused by the unspiritual among the priests, the prophets and the common people. From this particular sacredness of the Temple

2. Practical Truth of the Deuteronomists.

3. Superstitions of the People.

[1] 1 Kings viii. 27.

[2] *Ibid.* 43. This, rather than the explanation of the phrase given by Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 247, seems to be the most natural. Stade's further assertion that these phrases occur *only* in the secondary strata of Deuteronomy is very doubtful.

[3] 1 Kings ix. 3.

they developed the dogma of its inviolableness, and, absorbed by a superstitious confidence in God's habitation of it, neglected the ethical conditions of His covenant with them. The true prophets condemned this abuse of a real truth, insisting that God would not dwell in Jerusalem if the people cherished their idols and their immorality, but at the same time they recognised that only in Ṣion was the real knowledge of Him to be found, and that after her purgation Jerusalem would be the religious centre and resort of the whole earth. Meantime her wickedness nullified the Divine purpose. Jeremiah doomed the City to destruction, Ezekiel had a vision of the removal of the Divine Presence from the Temple.[1] The destruction of both in 586 made manifest to the whole nation that Jahweh had abandoned His Building, His Altar, His Footstool. His Name was removed from Jerusalem, and His oracles were silenced; no more was His ear open there to the prayers of His people. To us it might seem as if, the Deuteronomic principles having been tested and found wanting, the hour had already come for the birth of that new dispensation when *neither in this mountain nor at Jerusalem* men should worship the Father. There are, indeed, traces of the dawn of such a faith in the minds of many in Israel: Jeremiah's increasing insistence upon the individual aspects of religion, and his advice to the exiles to settle to life in Babylonia, and to pray to the Lord for the peace of their new home; as well as the more explicit utterances, which we find in some prophets of the Return, that God needs no Temple to dwell in, and rests

4. Ethical Views of the Prophets.

5. Effects of 586 B.C.

6. Promise of a more spiritual Dispensation.

[1] Ezek. xi. 23; cf. xliii. 2 ff.

in no one locality, but *the High and Lofty One who inhabiteth eternity and dwells in the high and holy place, dwells also with him that is of a contrite and a humble spirit.*[1] But in the Providence of God the time had not yet come for the realisation of these principles. Jeremiah himself looked for a Return of the people to Jerusalem, and the restoration of the Temple;[2] he announced a new covenant, but again it was with Israel alone.[3] The Evangelist of the Exile proclaims a wider gospel of God's sovereignty than his predecessors, and unfolds to Israel their mission to the whole world; yet even to him the indispensable start of this great future is the Return of the People to Jerusalem, and the rebuilding of God's House. Under God these things happened, and the earliest prophets of the Return accepted their leading. Ḥaggai and Zechariah looked forward to the completion of the Temple as to the full return of God to His City and His people.

7. Prevalence of the National and Local Ideals.

God returns to the completed Temple.

These convictions inspired the two prophets with the immediate expectation of a period of material and spiritual glory. The droughts and barren years had been due to the people's negligence in building the House of the Lord;[4] but now He would bless their labours. There had been no hire for man or beast, and with so many adversaries trade was impossible; but God *was already sowing the seed of peace; the vine should yield her fruit, the land her*

The Hopes roused by this.

[1] 'Isa.' lxvi. 1 f.; lvii. 15.

[2] See above, p. 254.

[3] For the genuineness of the prophecy of the New Covenant, xxxi. 31 ff., see the unanswerable argument of Cornill.

[4] Hag. i. 10 f.; ii. 16-19.

increase, the heavens their dew, and all was to be a heritage to the remnant of this people.[1] The Fasts instituted in the Exile to commemorate the destruction of the City must be changed to Feasts.[2] The sorry populations of Jerusalem and the other towns should grow and overflow the land: *Jerusalem shall be inhabited as villages without walls*, spreading by suburbs far into the country, *by reason of the multitude of men and cattle therein*:[3] her streets full of men and women living to a comfortable old age, and of boys and girls at play;[4] her festivals crowded with pilgrims, yea even with *many peoples and strong nations coming to seek Jahweh of Hosts in Jerusalem and to entreat His favour.*[5] For *the Lord has returned to Ṣion*, and *Jerusalem shall be called The City of Troth, and the mountain of Jahweh of Hosts the Holy Mountain.*[6] The iniquity of the land shall be removed in one day.[7]

This prediction from the standpoint of the new community repeats the three essential notes of the older prophecy. First, the conditions of its fulfilment are ethical. Zechariah summons the people to put away their civic wickedness and rise to a purer and more unselfish life.[8] Again, the promised restoration is connected with the prophet's expectancy of an immediate *shaking* of the whole world.[9] As with the older prophets so with Ḥaggai and Zechariah, the reasons of such an assurance are the political signs of their own times. Darius has not yet made his throne secure. In some of the provinces there are revolts, in

Repeat three notes of the Older Prophecy.

[1] Hag. i. 6; Zech. viii. 9-12.
[2] Zech. viii. 18 f.
[3] Zech. ii. 4.
[4] viii. 4 ff.
[5] viii. 20 ff.; cf. ii. 11.
[6] viii. 3; cf. ii. 10 ff.
[7] v. 5 ff.
[8] i. 4, vi. 15, viii. 16 f.
[9] Hag. ii. 6 ff., 21 ff.; Zech. i. 15, ii. 8 ff.

others restlessness. And finally, Haggai and Zechariah concentrate their political hopes for Israel on the person of a descendant of David: yet he is no future and unnamed prince, as with their predecessors, but their own contemporary and governor, Zerubbabel, who, in the day that the world is shaken, shall be as a *signet ring*,[1] so manifest an authority is to descend upon him. *The mountain* of obstacles, says Zechariah, *shall become as a plain before him.*[2] *He shall bear the glory and rule from his throne with the priest at his right hand.*[3]

These great hopes for the immediate future were not fulfilled. Darius crushed his adversaries and organised his Empire in peace. The world was not shaken. Zerubbabel vanished. What became of him we are not told. It has been variously conjectured that he succumbed to the intrigues of the party among his own countrymen who favoured the supremacy of the high priest; that his governorship was abolished when Darius divided the Empire into twenty Satrapies; that he fell in an unsuccessful revolt against his Persian lord. The hypothesis has even been ventured that his fall involved the destruction of the new Temple by the enraged Persians.[4] For none of these suppositions have

Disappointed by Events.

[1] Hag. ii. 21, 23. [2] Zech. iv. 7.

[3] Zech. vi. 13, LXX.; see vol. i. 382 *n.* 1.

[4] So Sellin, dating it between 515 and 500, on the grounds (1) of the present text of Isa. lxiii. 18 (*thy holy people were in possession but a little while; our adversaries have trodden down thy sanctuary*), and lxiv. 10 ff. (*thy holy cities . . . and Jerusalem a desolation; our holy house . . . is burned with fire*); and (2) because only so great a catastrophe could explain the sudden collapse of the Messianic hopes centred on Zerubbabel. But the text of the above passages is uncertain; their reference to the destruction by Nebuchadrezzar very possible (see below, p. 317); and equally great Messianic hopes had been abandoned in earlier times without requiring so great a catastrophe as the cause. Sellin (*Serubbabel*, 31 f. 197) holds that Zerubbabel

we any evidence; the last of them is not only extremely improbable, but if the new Temple had fallen some allusion must have been preserved in the Book of 'Ezra. All we are sure of is the disappearance of the last prince of the House of David, who ruled or bore a semblance of rule in Jerusalem. Not in vain had the returned exiles refrained from restoring the Palace beside the Temple. Zerubbabel's end meant the end of the dynasty with whose founder the City had risen, and to whose kings alone she had given her allegiance. No other scion of the family was henceforth to be acknowledged by her; they sank into obscurity. Even prophecy, which had flourished round their throne, and pledged its faith in their permanence, gave up its hope of them before it too expired, as if unable to exist apart from the independent national life with which they had been identified. The Temple, the Temple alone, remained; and the Priest, as we have seen from the significant alterations in the text of Zechariah's oracles, bare rule over a kingless and a prophetless people.

The next Sixty Years: 'Malachi,' 'Isaiah,' lvi.-lxvi.

For the next fifty or sixty years, till the arrival of 'Ezra and Nehemiah, we owe our information to some of the last efforts of prophecy, in forms no longer original but resting either upon the Law or upon the prophetic literature of earlier times. One anonymous prophet, to whom our Canon gives the name of 'Malachi,'[1] uttered his oracles either just before or just after the arrival of 'Ezra; and another series of prophecies, 'Isaiah' lvi.-lxvi., are most

restored the walls under Darius I., but later (*Studien zur Entstehungsgesch.* 121 f. 182) places the rebuilding under Cambyses or Cyrus, and ascribes its frustration and their ruin to the Samaritans.

[1] See the *Book of the Twelve Prophets* (*Expositor's Bible*), ii. ch. xxiv.

probably assigned to the same period, because, though containing apparently earlier elements from the period of the Exile, they not only reflect what we know were the main features of life in Jerusalem between Zechariah and 'Ezra, but exhibit some parallels to 'Malachi,' and contain echoes of Ezekiel, of the great Evangelist of the Exile and of Zechariah.[1]

[1] In *Isaiah xl.-lxvi.* (*Expositor's Bible*, 1890), I suggested that 'Isaiah' lvi.-lxvi. was from a number of hands (cf. Cheyne, *Enc. Brit.*[9]); of late their unity has been asserted by Duhm, and their origin in the time of 'Malachi.' See also Cramer, *Der geschichtliche Hintergrund d. Kap.* lv.-lxvi. *Buch. Jesaia*, 1905, and Budde, *Gesch. d. alt. Hebr. Litt.*, 1906, 176 ff. The existence of the Temple is implied throughout the greater part of Isa. lvi.-lxvi., especially lvi. 7, 8, lxii. 9 (the courts of the Temple), lxvi. 6. Some exiles have returned; others have still to be gathered (lvi. 8, lvii. 14, 19, lx. 4 ff.). The walls of Jerusalem are still unbuilt, and there are many *old* waste places (lviii. 12, lx. 10). There are very many idolaters practising, amidst scenery that is Palestinian (lvi. 9-lvii.), cults that are recognisable as those of the Western Semites (lvii. 9, lxv. 11; cf. lxv. 1-5). Some of these are undoubtedly Jews, *apostates* (lxvi. 24); others may be (not certainly are, as some commentators assert about lvii. 3 ff.) Samaritans. There is a great deal of trouble and strife with adversaries: this is implied in the many promises of peace. The faithful community is also abused by its governors, and its poor by the rich (lviii.-lix.). Altogether Jerusalem is like a pregnant mother who cannot bring her children to the birth (lxvi. 7-9).

Among other parallels with 'Malachi' are lvi. 1-8 with 'Mal.' iii. 5 (*turn aside the stranger*), lvi. 10 ff. with 'Mal.' i. 10, ii. 1 ff.; the temper of lxiii. 7-lxiv. (on this see 'Isaiah' in Hastings' *B.D.*); and the prediction of the separation of the good from the apostates and the judgment of the latter ('Mal.' iii. 13-21, Heb.—Eng. iii. 13-iv. 2—with 'Isa.' lxv.-lxvi.) The treatment of the Fasts (lviii.) may be compared with Zech. viii. 14-19, and the phrase *my holy mountain* (lvi. 7, lvii. 13, lxv. 11, 25, lxvi. 20) recalls the prediction of Zechariah (viii. 3); lxv. 20 recalls Zech. viii. 4; and lxv. 16, *God of troth*, recalls Zech. viii. 3, *City of troth*, 8, *their God in troth*. There is not space to enumerate other parallels with Zechariah, or the one or two echoes of Ezekiel, or the adoption of many texts from 'Isaiah' xl.-lv.

The only difficulties in the way of assigning these chapters to this period are the references to the destruction of the Temple, but these belong to a distinct section of the prophecies, lxiii. 7-lxiv. 11, which is probably from the period of the Exile; and the assertion in lxvi. that God does not dwell in temples made with hands, which, however, does not preclude the existence of the Temple (on this see Skinner, *Cambr. Bible for Schools*).

The picture which these writings present to us is one of anarchy and depression, both in religion and in civic affairs. The tone of the prophets is, therefore, for the most part, sombre, critical and minatory; but it is relieved by passages of truth so spiritual, of charity so broad, and of hope so strong and dazzling, that they have ever been esteemed by the Church of God as among the most precious of her Scriptures. It is not the City alone which is under review, but the land; yet not, as with some older prophets, extended to its ideal boundaries, but shrunken almost to the limits of the people's actual possession: *Judah and Jerusalem* as 'Malachi' calls it;[1] while the other prophet dares not, even in promise, to define it as wider than from Sharon to 'Akôr, mere *pasture and a place for herds to lie down in.*[2] The religious symbols and promises of these prophets are largely pastoral and agricultural,[3] as if the returned exiles had already spread beyond Jerusalem to such forms of life, and particularly, we may note, to the cultivation of the vine. Three classes of the population are discernible: the faithful Jews returned from Babylon; the apostate Jews, consisting both of those who had never left the land and those of the Return who had fallen away to them; and the Samaritans, who had spread into the Vale of Ayyalôn and held many of the approaches to the City. In addition the Edomites had come up the Negeb as far as Hebron; there were some 'Ammonite settlements occupying fields from which Nebuchadrezzar took away their Jewish owners and introducing the cult of

Condition of the Jews.

[1] iii. 4.
[2] 'Isa.' lxv. 10.
[3] 'Mal' iii. 11, iv. 2 (Eng.); 'Isa.' lxi., lxii., lxiii. 2 f., 13 f., lxv. 8, 22 ff., etc.

Molok or Melek ;[1] while the Phœnician coast towns, as of yore, sent their traders through the land and with them their own forms of worship.[2]

To all these temptations the Jewish community was exposed, and the worship of the Temple had to compete with them. A Persian had succeeded Zerubbabel.[3] We cannot suppose that he was sympathetic with the ideals or careful of the religious discipline of the City.[4] Priests and laity were left to themselves and grew lax in their worship. The former neglected the more spiritual of their duties ;[5] the latter cheapened their sacrifices and withheld their tithes.[6] The Sabbath was abused ;[7] the pilgrimages to Ṣion fell off.[8] Jews divorced their wives in order to marry the heathen.[9] And the minds of the people reaped the natural fruit of such laxity, in the persuasion that right conduct mattered nothing. There was a prevalent scepticism.[10] Sorcery, perjury, oppression of the poor, shedding of innocent blood, with a general covetousness and envy of the rich, are the sins charged against the community.[11]

Moral and Religious Abuses,

From all this we can see how the work of 'Ezra and Neḥemiah upon their arrival in Jerusalem was at once difficult and easy—difficult because the community was corrupted by nearly two generations of so much temptation and so much carelessness ; but easy because in the resultant anarchy

awaiting 'Ezra and Neḥemiah.

[1] 'Isa.' lvii. 9. [2] lxv. 11. [3] 'Mal. i. 8.
[4] Ryle, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (*Camb. Bible for Schools*), p. xxxvii.
[5] 'Mal.' ii. 1-9 ; cf. 'Isa.' lvi. 10 ff.
[6] 'Mal.' i. 6 ff., iii. 7 ff. [7] 'Isa.' lvi. 1-8, lviii. 13 f.
[8] lxv. 11. [9] 'Mal.' ii. 10-16. [10] ii. 17, iii. 13 ff.
[11] iii. 5, 15 ; 'Isa.' lvii. 17, lviii., lix. 3-8, 13-15.

there was no force, either moral or physical, sufficient to compete with the movement for reform. In estimating the work of 'Ezra and Nehemiah, the rapidity with which they imposed a new and elaborate constitution upon the life of their people, we must appreciate the fact that these reformers had to reckon, not with an established political system nor long traditions nor a disciplined hierarchy, but with a popular life broken into fragments and dispirited —corrupt, indeed, but flexible and at the disposal of any definite and straightforward purpose of repair.

Loftier Visions in this Period.

This is not the place to follow or appraise the loftier flights upon which 'Malachi' and his fellow prophets rose above their sombre tasks of tracking and dragging to light the vices and superstitions of their people. But we must not fail to notice how, at a time when prophecy indulged in no great hopes for the political future of the community and was engrossed with practical proposals for the improvement of the details of their life, it also possessed the power to rise to far visions of the world and to the widest charity and hope for other peoples. There are no passages of Scripture which breathe a more tender or a more liberal spirit than some of these utterances from so narrow and dispirited an age. 'Malachi' turns from his disgust with the blemished sacrifices of the Temple to the thought of how God is honoured everywhere among the heathen: *for from the rising of the sun to his setting My Name is great among the nations, and in every sacred place smoke of sacrifice ascends to My Name and a pure offering, for great is My Name among the nations, saith Jahweh of Hosts.*[1] A wonderful thought to rise

[1] 'Mal.' i. 11.

from that starved and corrupt City, a wonderful claim to make for her God at such a time! How it anticipates the words of Christ in the same place centuries later, that God has rejected Israel and called the Gentiles to Himself! The other prophet or prophets are in their own way equally catholic, equally spiritual. They make provision within Israel for the eunuch and the stranger;[1] declare that God *who inhabits the high and holy place dwells also with him that is of a contrite and humble spirit*;[2] proclaim that the service which He seeks is *to loosen the bonds of wickedness, to undo the knots of the yoke, to let the crushed go free, to rend every yoke*;[3] and publish that programme of service which Christ took as His own: *to tell good tidings to the suffering, to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty unto the captives, and open ways to the prisoners, to proclaim an acceptable year for the Lord and a day of vengeance for our God; to comfort all that mourn; to provide for the mourners of Ṣion, to give them a garland for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the mantle of praise for the spirit of dulness.*[4]

With regard to the City herself, the pictures are double and contradictory. Not in 'Malachi,' for he says as little of Jerusalem and as much implies her, as does the Deuteronomic law, upon which he prophesies. But in 'Isaiah' lvi.-lxvi. the City is represented now as the glorified centre of the whole world, embellished by its tribute and attracting its nations, and now as the floor of judgment on which her own people have to be separated and

Double Aspect of Jerusalem.

[1] 'Isa.' lvi. 1-8. [2] lvii. 15.
[3] lviii. 6 ff. [4] lxi. 1 ff.

punished. Let this chapter conclude with an instance of each of these: either from the same author in different moods or from different authors but of the same period.

The glorious Hope of the City—East and West.

In the Sixtieth Chapter we see Jerusalem bidden to rise to her glory, which is described as the spiritual counterpart of a typical Eastern day in the sudden splendour of its dawn, the fulness and apparent permanence of its noon, the spaciousness it reveals on land and sea, and the barbaric profusion of life, which its strong light is sufficient to flood with glory.[1] The prophet has caught that high central position of the City on the ridge which runs between sea and desert, east and west, the ends of her world. We have seen that her exposure is eastward,[2] and with this he begins.[3] Arabia, whose border is Jerusalem's horizon, is pouring into her: *Profusion of camels shall cover thee, young camels of Midian and 'Ephah, all of them from Sheba shall come: gold and frankincense shall they bring and publish the praises of Jahweh. All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered unto thee; the rams of Nebaioth shall minister to thee: they shall come up with acceptance on Mine altar and the house of My glory will I glorify.* Then turning from this, the natural prospect of every housetop in the City, the prophet overlooks the ridge which hides Jerusalem from the sea, and starts her hope in what till the days of her exile was a direction unknown. Nay, as if she had left her secluded mountain and taken her stand by the sea, he describes her with all its light thrown up in her face and all its wealth

[1] From *Isaiah* xl.-lxvi. (*Expositor's Bible*), p. 429.
[2] Vol. i. 10 ff.
[3] Verses 6-9.

drifting to her feet. *Then shalt thou see and be radiant, thy heart shall throb and grow large; for there shall be turned upon thee the tide of the sea, and the wealth of the nations shall come to thee. . . . Who are these like a cloud that fly, like doves to their windows? Surely the Isles*[1] *are stretching towards me, ships of Tarshish in the van to bring thy sons from afar, with their silver and their gold to the name of Jahweh thy God and to the Holy of Israel, for He hath glorified thee.* It is a picture, wonderful at this time when the life of the City was at its lowest, of the far future, when all the Western world should draw to Jerusalem with their gifts and their spiritual homage. But *the least was to become a thousand and the smallest a strong nation.*

The counterpart of this is seen in Chapter lxvi.,[2] which tells how the glory of Jerusalem must be preceded by a great and searching judgment: between her citizens who are faithful and those who are apostate. The high notes of the future to which we have been listening are repeated. Yet the prophet's last vision of the City is not that of a holy mountain, the abode of a holy people and the centre of a redeemed humanity, but with her narrow surface and her little people divided between worship and a horrible woe—Gehenna underneath the walls of the Temple. What was to have been the Lord's garner is still only His threshing-floor, and heaven and hell as of old shall from new moon to new moon lie side by side in her. For from the day that Araunah the Jebusite threshed out his sheaves upon that high, wind-swept rock to the

Her Division between Worship and Judgment.

[1] Or coastlands.

[2] And equally in 'Malachi' iii. 18 ff.

day when the Son of Man standing over against her divided the sheep from the goats, the wise from the fools, and the loving from the selfish, Jerusalem has been appointed of God for trial, separation and judgment.[1]

[1] *Isaiah* xl.-lxvi. (*Expositor's Bible*), p. 466.

CHAPTER XIII

EZRA AND NEHEMIAH

458 (?)-431 B.C.

IN the history of Jerusalem, when we come to the Books of 'Ezra and Neḥemiah, it is as if a mist lifted, for we regain that near view of the City which has been more or less obscured since Baruch's stories of Jeremiah and the Dirges of the desolate Ṣion. Not only are precise narratives resumed and dated to the month and day—a custom with Jewish writers since Baruch—documents of state are also offered; and, most valuable of all, we have the memoirs of the principal actors, written in the first person singular. This is a form of literature to which the only precedents, so far as Jerusalem is concerned, have been Isaiah's account of his vision in the Temple, some passages of his earlier life dictated by Jeremiah to Baruch, and the visions of Ezekiel. The new memoirs, however, not being those of prophets, with whom the spiritual vision always tends to overwhelm the material circumstance and personal detail, provide of the latter a wealth unprecedented in the literature of Jerusalem. The authors, in explaining their policy and describing their conduct—their conversations, their passions and even their gestures—reveal the characters behind these,

A close sight of the City regained.

and enrich the long drama of Jerusalem with two of its eight or ten most vivid personalities. To our view of the stage itself the gain is considerable. What Baruch did for the hills of Jerusalem and for the courts of the Palace and Temple, Nehemiah now does, and more, for the full circuit of the City walls. There is, too, an atmosphere through which the voices and the tempers of men rise with a distinctness we hardly ever again feel about the grey town till Josephus comes upon her with his Romans. We see a wet day in December, with a crowd on the broad place before the Temple, *shivering for their business, and because of the winter rains*;[1] and a September day when the people fill the same space *and feast and send portions to one another and make great mirth, bringing in from the mountain branches of olive, wild olive, myrtle, palm and thick trees* to build booths, every citizen on the roof of his house and the pilgrims on the broad places by the Water-gate and the Gate of Ephraim.[2] Most vivid of all is the building of the Walls, half the force at work with their swords girt to their sides—as a few years ago I saw Circassian immigrants building their houses from the ruins of 'Ammân under fear of an Arab attack — and half behind them under the Wall with spears, bows and habergeons; Nehemiah in the centre and a bugler by his side all the long hours from *the rise of the dawn till the stars come out*.[3] Between these crises and festivals the daily life of the people unfolds before us; country-folk and Tyrian fish-dealers waiting till the gates open of a morning, and bringing in to the markets the City's food and the offerings for the Temple; the daily

[1] Ezra x. 9. [2] Neh. viii. 12 ff. [3] Neh. iv. 15 ff.

table of the hospitable governor, *one ox a day and six choice sheep, also fowls, and once in ten days store of all wines*;[1] and the discontent of an over-taxed people with their fields mortgaged to the usurer—in fact very much that we wanted to know about Jerusalem and now see, not only for that year or two of Nehemiah's reports but for all the centuries of the common unchanging life on either side of him.

Yet the whole story is beset with difficulties arising from the composition of its text—difficulties about the sources, the chronology and the relations of the two principal actors—all of which are hard and some perhaps insoluble, but with which we must come to terms before the Jerusalem of 'Ezra and Nehemiah grows certain to us. To avoid undue disturbance of the narrative, I propose to discuss a number of details in the Appendix, and to state here only the principal questions and conclusions.

Difficulties of the Text.

In our Bible the Books of 'Ezra and Nehemiah are separated; but in the Hebrew Canon they were originally one Book: manifestly the compilation of a writer who worked after the fall of the Persian Empire, and whose style, in the summary and connective passages which he contributes, very closely resembles that of the compiler of the Book of Chronicles. On this ground, and because 'Ezra-Nehemiah continues the Books of Chronicles, he is to be identified with the Chronicler himself, whose date was about 300 B.C., or more than a century after 'Ezra and

'Ezra-Nehemiah a Compilation by the Chronicler from several sources.

[1] Neh. v. 17 ff.

Nehemiah visited Jerusalem.[1] Among the constituents of the Book are a historical summary written not in Hebrew but in Aramaic;[2] several 'State-documents' in the direct form;[3] and two long fragments of Memoirs in which 'Ezra and Nehemiah respectively speak in the first person singular.[4] As suddenly as these memoirs are introduced, so are they again broken off, but other parts of them appear to form the basis of narratives which continue their story with 'Ezra or Nehemiah in the third person.[5] Nor (as we shall see) does the compiler observe the regular sequence of events. All these features, visible on the surface of this double Book, and complicated by others of a more subtle kind, have provoked what is perhaps the most considerable controversy in the past ten years of Old Testament scholarship. Some of it is not very relevant to the story of Jerusalem; but we have to determine at least the most probable answers to the questions raised by the Memoirs and the Chronology.

Memoirs of Nehemiah.

No serious objections have been taken to the Memoirs of Nehemiah.[6] Written in classical Hebrew —in the vocabulary there are, of course, some late elements—and with the spirit and directness

[1] For the proofs of this, which are obvious and accepted by critics of all schools (cf. even Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Ancient Monuments*, 537), see Driver, *Introd.*, 6th ed. 544 f., with list of phrases characteristic of the Chronicler, 535 ff.; and § 5 of Ryle's *Ezra and Neh.*, *Camb. Bible for Schools*.

[2] Ezra iv. 8-vi. 18, ? after 450 B.C.

[3] Ezra i. 2-4; iv. 11-16, 18-22; v. 7-17; vi. 3-12; vii. 12-26, all but the first in Aramaic: for convincing proof of their genuineness see Meyer, *D. Entstehung des Judenthums*.

[4] Ezra vii. 27-ix.; Neh. i.-vii. 5 (6-73*a* ?); xii. 31 (32-36 ?), 37-40; xiii. 4-31.

[5] Ezra x.; Neh. vii. 73*b*, viii., xii. 30.

[6] Neh. i.-vii. 5 (6-73*a* ?); xii. 31 (32-36 ?), 37-40; xiii. 4-31. Renan characteristically guards himself from a final opinion on their authenticity. *Histoire*, iv. 67, 68.

of an actor in the scenes they describe, these Memoirs form one of the most valuable documents in the history and topography of Jerusalem. To be used with more discrimination are the passages that continue the story of Nehemiah, but present him in the third person.[1]

The question of the Memoirs of 'Ezra[2] is more difficult. They also are written in the first person singular, but objection has been taken to their authenticity[3] on the ground that their vocabulary and syntax are those of the compiler himself; that they contain unhistorical elements; that the whole story of 'Ezra's activity is improbable; that Nehemiah does not mention 'Ezra; and that 'Ezra is unknown both to the Son of Sira and the author of Second Maccabees, to whom Nehemiah is the sole champion of Judaism at this period.[4] For these reasons the 'Memoirs of 'Ezra' are held to be the merest fiction, invented by the priests of a later age in order to place beside the layman Nehemiah a priestly colleague in the restoration of the Law and the Congregation of Israel. It is even denied that 'Ezra himself existed, except as an ordinary priest

Memoirs of 'Ezra.

[1] Neh. vii. 73*b*-x. and xi.; xi. is the immediate continuation of vii.; viii.-x., in which Nehemiah appears in the third person, appear to be founded not on his 'Memoirs' but on 'Ezra's, as I stated in the *Expositor* for July 1906, p. 10. This is also the view of Budde, *Gesch. d. alt. Hebr. Litt.* 236, and indeed is most probable; cf. Cornill, *Introd.* (Eng. trans.) 247 f.

[2] Ezra vii. 27-ix.; only viii. 35 f. seem to be from another hand.

[3] Principally by Renan (1893), *Hist.* iv. 96 ff.; C. C. Torrey (1896), *The Compos. and Histor. Value of Ezra and Neh.* (*Beihefte z. Z. A. T. W.* ii.), in which the 'Ezra memoirs are subjected to a searching analysis with the conclusion that they are the work of the Chronicler himself; H. P. Smith (1903), *O. T. Hist.* 390 ff., and Foster Kent (1905), *Israel's Hist. and Biogr. Narratives* (in *The Students' O. T.*), 29-34—these last two following Torrey, Foster Kent more moderately. Cf. also Winckler, *Alt-Orient. Forschungen* and *K. A. T.*(3), 294.

[4] Ecclus. xlix. 12 ff.; 2 Macc. i. 10 ff.

whose name descended to the generation which made so much of him. As we know from the Apocrypha and from Talmudic literature, 'Ezra became an attractive centre for legend; according to this argument, the legend was already begun by the forger of these Memoirs. To the theory as a whole two answers at once suggest themselves. So lavish and detailed a story can hardly be conceived as developing except from the actual labours of a real and impressive personality. And against the hypothesis that a later generation of priests, jealous for the history of their order, invented a man learned in the Law as colleague to the layman Neḥemiah, may be urged the necessity of the actual appearance of such a man in the conditions in which Neḥemiah found himself at Jerusalem. A layman like Neḥemiah could hardly have ventured to enforce the religious reforms to which he was obliged after his work upon the Walls was completed, without some more authoritative exposition of the Divine Law of his people than he could himself give. The presence of 'Ezra, then, by the side of Neḥemiah, is perfectly natural, if not necessary, to the crisis which the latter encountered and overcame. Nor is the great expedition, which 'Ezra is said to have led to Jerusalem, historically improbable. On the contrary, the achievements of Neḥemiah—his triumph over habits of worship which, as 'Malachi' tells us, were nearly universal among the priesthood and laity of Jerusalem, and his foundation of a compact community which remained loyal to the stricter law brought from Babylon, and resisted, as Judaism before Neḥemiah had not been able to resist, the surrounding heathenism—are best explained through his reinforcement by a large

number of Babylonian Jews under just such a leader as 'Ezra. When we turn with these considerations to the text of the Memoirs, we find this to be consonant with the authorship of 'Ezra himself. A large number of the words and phrases which are alleged to be characteristic of the Chronicler are employed as well by other post-exilic writers. 'Ezra may easily have used most of them; if there are any besides which only the Chronicler could have employed, they are due to his redaction of the Memoirs.[1]

The Aramaic Document.

Besides the Memoirs of 'Ezra and Nehemiah, which refer to their own times—from 457 or alternatively 445 onwards—the Chronicler has embodied in his compilation a document written in the Aramaic language,[2] which relates a number of transactions between the Jews of Jerusalem and their Persian lords before the arrival of 'Ezra and Nehemiah. He has prefixed to this[3] an account of the Return of the Jews under Cyrus, in which there is much to question. But we have no reason to doubt the reliableness of his Aramaic source, which is generally assigned to the fifth century. Many of its data, concerning the building of the Temple under Darius (521-485), are exactly confirmed by the Books of Haggai and Zechariah; the rest, obstructions which the *peoples of the land* put in the way of the rebuilding of the walls of the City under Xerxes and Artaxerxes, agree with the testimony of constant and harassing opposition from that quarter, which is given by these prophets and by Nehemiah.

From such reliable sources the following facts may

[1] See further, Appendix II.

[2] Ezra iv. 8-vi. 18; vii. 12-26 is also in Aramaic.

[3] Ezra i.-iii.

be accepted. *First*, after the Temple was built there were several efforts to restore the walls of the City under Xerxes I. (485-464), and especially under Artaxerxes I. (464-424), but these were frustrated on the appeal of the other peoples in Palestine to the Persian throne. *Second*, sometime in the reign of Artaxerxes, 'Ezra, a priest and scribe, sought and obtained permission from the king to lead from Babylonia to Jerusalem a great company of priests and levites; and upon his arrival attempted with no success to reform the worship and the customs of the Jewish community, which, as we have seen from 'Malachi,' suffered from lax discipline and many abuses. *Third*, in 445 Nehemiah, the cupbearer of Artaxerxes in the palace at Shushan, being grieved by a report of the defenceless state of Jerusalem, asked and obtained leave from his master to go and rebuild the walls; by September 444, in spite of opposition from *the peoples of the land*, he accomplished his task, and the walls were dedicated. *Fourth*, in 432 Nehemiah, again as Tirshatha, or governor of the Jewish province, paid a second visit to Jerusalem and achieved many reforms. *Fifth*, about one or other of these dates, or between them, 'Ezra brought forth the Law to the Jews of Jerusalem and Judah, gathered in a national assembly, and by a covenant on the basis of the Law the sacred community was anew established and organised.

Certain Events of the Period.

But though the compiler has thus preserved for us a great amount of contemporary and authentic information as to events in Jerusalem both before and after the arrival of 'Ezra and Nehemiah in the City, it is clear from his arrangement

Confusion of their Chronological Order.

of his materials that he was either ignorant of or indifferent to the proper chronological order of these events.[1] In the first place, either he or the author of the Aramaic document before him has mixed into each other the building of the Temple under Darius and the attempts to build the City walls under Xerxes I. and Artaxerxes I. Again, in arranging the Memoirs of 'Ezra and Nehemiah he has broken up and re-sorted his materials; some of his dates are capable of different interpretations; and in two cases at least he has separated passages which belong to each other. Such confusion has naturally given rise to different theories of the exact course of the ascertained events. Some accept the definite statements that 'Ezra, with his bands, reached Jerusalem in *the seventh year of Artaxerxes*, 458, and attempted his reforms up to April 457.[2] To the following years they refer the account, in the Aramaic document, of the frustrated efforts to rebuild the walls,[3] manifestly out of place where the compiler has put it. To the wreck of these efforts they attribute Nehemiah's grief in 445, and his request to Artaxerxes to be allowed to visit Jerusalem and rebuild the Walls. The other theory is that 'Ezra's expedition to Jerusalem did not take place till some years after the Walls were rebuilt by Nehemiah; that there had been no attempt at rebuilding before Nehemiah, but that what caused his grief at Shushan was the report of the ruin in which the Walls had lain ever since the overthrow of the City by Nebuchadrezzar in 586. 'Ezra is not mentioned in

Opposite Theories as to this.

[1] For the exhibition of this in detail see Appendix II.

[2] Ezra vii. 8, x. 16.

[3] Ezra iv. 8-vi.

Nehemiah's story of the rebuilding: Nehemiah's reforms are not intelligible if 'Ezra's institution of the Law preceded them. On these grounds 'Ezra's expedition and institution of the Law must be postponed either to the interval between Nehemiah's two visits in 444 and 432 —in which case we must read *the twenty-seventh* instead of *the seventh year of Artaxerxes* as its date, that is 437— or to the second of these visits.

Impossibility of deciding between these.

I have explained in the Appendix the impossibility of deciding between these rival chronologies, upon the evidence at our disposal. It is strange how 'Ezra and Nehemiah avoid mentioning each other, but this may be due to the fact that we have only part of the Memoirs of each of them. We must be content to leave the order of the great events to which they contributed, uncertain. Only one thing seems probable in this order, that (for reasons I shall give) before Nehemiah came there had been attempts to rebuild the Walls, and that it was the report of the wreck of these which moved his passion to go and do the work himself.

Having examined the documents upon the period, and seen that recent objections to the authenticity of 'Ezra's Memoirs are insufficient, but that we cannot form exact conclusions as to his relations with Nehemiah and the dates of his appearances in Jerusalem, we proceed now to an account of the events which happened during the governorship of Nehemiah.

The policy of Nehemiah and 'Ezra may be regarded as twofold, but the end it pursued was virtually one. *First*, there was the Rebuilding of the Walls of the City which had lain breached since their overthrow by Nebuchad-

rezzar in 586; and *second*, during the rebuilding there became evident to the leaders the necessity of raising a Wall or Fence of Law about the community itself: bulwarks to keep pure the blood, the language, the worship and the morals of Israel.

Twofold Policy of 'Ezra and Neḥemiah.

Neḥemiah himself tells us that it was an account of the ruin of the Walls and of *the affliction and reproach* to which in consequence his returned countrymen were exposed which moved him to crave leave from Artaxerxes to go to Judah and *rebuild the place of my fathers' sepulchres: it lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire.*[1] The petition was granted, and in 445 Neḥemiah arrived in Jerusalem under military escort and with letters-royal to *the Keeper of the King's Forest, that he might give me timber to make beams for the gates of the castle which appertaineth to the House, and for the wall of the City, and for the house that I shall enter into.*[2] The Aramaic document in the Book of 'Ezra reports earlier attempts to rebuild the walls and their frustration by Samaritan intrigue;[3] these attempts (the account of which the compiler has obviously misplaced in his arrangement of the Book of 'Ezra) have been attributed by several moderns to 'Ezra himself.[4] Whether they actually took place under 'Ezra or not, Neḥemiah alludes neither to them nor to him. After a survey of the ruins he induced a large number of his fellow-Jews to begin the restoration, which he carefully describes not as an entire rebuilding, but as a *strengthening*,

1. The Restoration of the Walls.

[1] Neh. i.-ii. 5. [2] ii. 8, 9.

[3] Aramaic document = Ezra iv. 8-vi. 18. The account of the attempts to build *the walls* is given in iv. 6-23 (verses 6, 7 are in Hebrew).

[4] See above, p. 333.

a '*pointing*' or *cementing*, a *healing*, and a *sealing* or *stopping of the breaches*.[1] The restoration, which took fifty-two days, was finished by September 444, and the gates set up.[2] After an interval of one hundred and forty-two years, Jerusalem was again *a fenced city*. Gatekeepers and police were appointed with Ḥanani, Neḥemiah's brother, and Ḥananiah, the governor of the castle, in charge of the whole town.[3]

During the process of rębuilding, Neḥemiah encountered opposition from the same quarters from which the earlier attempts are said to have been frustrated. *Sanballaṭ the Ḥoronite and Ṭobiyah the servant* or *slave*, *the 'Ammonite*, had been alarmed at his coming *to seek the welfare of the children of Israel*, and unable to stop his operations, along with *Gashmu the Arab*, *began to laugh us to scorn*, and to spread the old story that by rebuilding the walls the Jews intended rebellion against the king.[4] The names of these persons, if they have been accurately transmitted, reflect the curious mixture of *the peoples of the land* which had taken place during the Jewish exile. Sanballaṭ is a Ḥoronite, that is, from Beth-ḥoron, then a Samaritan town; for according to a probable emendation of the text he is described as *saying before his brethren*, *Is this the power of Samaria*, *that these Jews*

Opposition from *the peoples of the land.*

Samaritans.

[1] *Strengthening* (Hiphil of the verb חזק *to be strong*, and once, iii. 19, Piel) throughout ch. iii., E.V. *repairing*. '*Pointing*' or *cementing* (Kal of עזב, probably a technical term, for which see the lexicons), iii. 8, E.V. *fortified*. *Healing* and *sealing of the breaches*, A.V. *that the walls of Jerusalem were made up, and that the breaches began to be stopped*; R.V. *that the repairing of the walls of Jerusalem went forward*, etc., iv. 7 (Eng.)=iv. 1 (Heb.).

[2] Neh. iii. 1, 3, 6, 13 ff.; vi. 15, vii. 1; cf. Ecclus. xlix. 13.

[3] vii. 1, 2.

[4] ii. 10, 19; iv. 1 ff.

are fortifying their city?[1] and with a Samaritan nationality his Assyrian name, 'The Moon-god-gives-life,' would agree. Ṭobiyah, on the other hand, like his son Jehôḥanan, has a name compounded of that of the God of Israel; he is called *the 'Ammonite*, but this may mean from Kephar Ha'ammoni, or 'Village of the 'Ammonite,' which lay in the territory of Benjamin. Gashmu is an Arabian name; these nomads have always been scattered across Judah. It is true that other meanings, as well as different readings, of those names have been suggested; but the latter are mere conjectures, and as the meanings just given suit the conditions of the time, it is reasonable to accept them.[2] Samaritans, Jews, probably of that poorer class who had never left Judah,[3] and Arabs, whose assistance rival political powers in Palestine have always been eager to enlist—the trio represent an alliance, frequent in the history of Syria, between persons of different tribes and cults, all of them Semitic, and therefore more or less merging into each other, but bound only by a temporary community of material interests.

Recreant Jews and Arabs.

An effort has been made to impute to these allies some nobility of aim by representing them as a racial league,

[1] So the LXX. version, cod. B in *'Εσδρας* B xiv. 4: the Greek equivalent of the Hebr. Neh. iii. 34 = Eng. iv. 2.

[2] For other meanings that *Horonite* is from Horonaim in Moab, and that *'Ammonite* means one of the neighbouring children of 'Ammon, see Schlatter, *Zur Topogr. u. Gesch. Palast.* 4, and Winckler, *Alt-Orient. Forschungen*, ii. 228 ff.; for other readings Cheyne, artt. 'Sanballaṭ' and 'Ṭobiah' in *Encl. Bibl.*, and the present writer's 'Beth-horon' in the same.

[3] Winckler, *K.A.T.*(3) 296, takes Sanballaṭ and Ṭobiyah as father and son, 'representatives,' whether genuine or not, 'of that branch of the royal family which had remained in the land,' and now claimants for the leadership. There are no grounds for either of these hypotheses—not even in the fact that later 'Ṭobiades' appear in opposition to the high priests (below, ch. xv.).

eclectic in faith, and ambitious to create a common national cause among the factions of the land. But their eclecticism was obviously of that petty sort which, without either strong intellectual force or sense of the supremacy of ethics in religion, or conscience of the moral unity of mankind, maintains its alliances and mixtures upon merely local or family considerations, or motives of gain, or sometimes only by the hostility of all its ingredients to the advocates of a higher moral standard. The attempt to argue that Nehemiah has misrepresented his opponents is futile, and its conclusions are disproved, first by the fact that Nehemiah and the allies faced each other from the beginning with a mutual and instinctive feeling of their essential hostility, and secondly, by our knowledge of the subsequent fortunes of the tribes and cults of Palestine outside of Israel. In the alarm of the allies at Nehemiah's arrival *to seek the welfare of the children of Israel*, and in his retort to them, *You have no portion nor right nor memorial in Jerusalem*,[1] we touch those ultimate elements of human consciousness, in which Nehemiah was not rash in feeling the inspiration of God Himself. The low character of the popular cults of Syria, which recent excavations have revealed to us, and the ease with which those cults allowed themselves to be absorbed by Hellenism, prove that for Nehemiah and 'Ezra to have yielded to the attempts to mingle the Jews with *the peoples of the land* would have been fatal both to the nation and the religion of Israel.

Their character.

Incompatibility between their aims and Nehemiah's.

During his operations upon the Walls, Nehemiah learned, from Jews living outside, of a plan of his enemies

[1] Neh. ii. 10, 19, 20.

to attack the builders; whom, therefore, in one of the most gallant scenes in all the drama of Jerusalem's history, he armed as they built, and supported by a force of bowmen and lancers drawn up behind the Walls.[1] When the work was finished, Sanballaṭ, Ṭobiyah, and Gashmu sought four times to entice Neḥemiah to a conference on the plain of Ono, intending to do him a mischief; and then accused him of aiming at kingship.[2] But he discovered that such assaults from the outside were not all he had to fear. The alliance against him, with its right wing merging into Judaism, had friends within the Walls, such as we shall find every heathen power hereafter able to reckon upon in Jerusalem. They hired prophets, Neḥemiah says, to work upon his fears, and to seduce him to discredit himself with his people by taking refuge in the Temple from plans for his assassination.[3]

Conspiracies against the Building

and against Neḥemiah.

Ṭobiyah, of the Jewish name, was in close correspondence with the *nobles of Judah*,[4] that is with some of the returned Jews, for no nobles had been left in the land after the Babylonian deportations and the flight into Egypt. He and his son Jehoḥanan were married to the daughters of such families, and were thus related to the high priest Eliashib,[5] who allowed Ṭobiyah, even after the Walls were built but during Neḥemiah's absence from the City, to store his household stuff in one of the consecrated chambers of the Temple courts.[6] The Jews themselves had not recovered command of the trade of the country, and held

These perils and the many abuses

[1] Neh. iv. 7-23. [2] vi. 1-9. [3] vi. 10-14.
[4] vi. 17. [5] vi. 18; xiii. 4. [6] xiii. 4-9.

close commerce with Tyrians for fish, and with travelling dealers in other kinds of wares, who found quarters within the walls.[1] Consequently, as in later days from the same cause, the Sabbath was profaned equally with the Temple. Commerce nearly always implies *connubium*; the blood of the Jews was mixed with that of other tribes, and the children grew up ignorant even of the Hebrew tongue. *In those days also I saw Jews who had married wives of Ashdod, 'Ammon and Moab, and their children spake half in the dialect of Ashdod, and could not speak the Jewish language, but according to the language of each people.*[2] These evils are the same as 'Ezra reports having encountered upon his arrival at Jerusalem, either before or after Nehemiah; and as having infected likewise the immigrant Jews, fresh from the more bracing atmosphere of Babylonian Jewry.[3] But in addition, Nehemiah the governor discovered among the noble and ruling Jews a cruel oppression of their poorer brethren, whose lands they mortgaged and whose persons they enslaved for debt.[4] From all these things experienced after their arrival in Jerusalem, 'Ezra, whose mission had been to enrich the Temple with gifts, and Nehemiah, who had set out to build the Walls, developed that wider policy, the success of which constituted them the founders of Judaism. To men of such a conscience towards God and their race such a policy was inevitable in the conditions we have sketched. The mere Walls of the City and the Temple were not enough; the circumstances revealed during their construction demanded the more effectual 'Fence of the Law.'

require (2) the Fence of the Law.

[1] Neh. xiii. 15-22. [2] xiii. 24. [3] Ezra ix. f. [4] Neh. v.

Nor is it less natural to believe that, as his singularly candid Memoirs testify, Nehemiah achieved the beginnings of this wider policy largely on the strength of his own personality. By his immediate recognition of the wrongs of the poor, by his unselfish example and resignation of his rights as governor, by casting the household stuff of Ṭobiyah out of the Temple Courts, by regulating the Temple organisation and the distribution of tithes to the Levites, by shutting the City gates on the Sabbath, by contending with the men who had married foreign wives, and even by using (as he confesses) personal violence to them, Nehemiah, upon his own strength of spirit and body, started the necessary reforms.[1] His Memoirs reveal a strong personality, full of piety towards God and his people, with a power both of sincere prayer and the persuading of men; cut to the quick by the thought of *the place of the graves of his fathers* lying waste, but more concerned for the affliction and reproach of his living brethren, and with a conscience, too, of their sins, especially towards the poor and the easily defrauded Levites. Without Isaiah's vision or Jeremiah's later patience, Nehemiah fulfils the prophetic ideal of the ruler, whose chief signs shall be that he draws breath in the fear of the Lord, that he defends the cause of the poor, that he has gifts of persuasion and inspiration, that he is quick to distinguish between the worthy and the evil, and that he does not spare the evil in their way. Nehemiah is everywhere dependent upon God, and conscious *of the good hand of his God upon him.* He has the strong man's power of

How much was done by Nehemiah himself.

His character and sympathies.

[1] Neh. i.-vii.; xii. 31, 37-40; xiii. 4-31.

keeping things to himself, but when the right moment comes he can (unlike 'Ezra) persuade and lift the people to their work. He has a keen discernment of character and motive. He is intolerant of the indulgent, the compromising and the lazy, even when they are nobles—who, as he expresses it, *put not their necks to the work of the Lord*.[1] In the preparations for his mission and its first stages at Jerusalem he is thoroughly practical. In his account of his building he proves himself careful and true to detail. As he becomes familiar with the conditions on which he has been called to act, and gradually realises how much he must do beyond the mere building of walls, the growth of his sense of the grandeur of his work is very beautiful; the sense of his loneliness not less pathetic. *I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down: why should the work cease, whilst I leave it and come down to you?*[2] There were few whom he could trust in charge of the City and its gates: he had to draw his police from the bands of Levites and musicians whose rights he had defended.[3]

His loneliness.

If sometimes his loneliness made Nehemiah too suspicious of his opponents or of his own people, this was but the defect of his qualities or inevitable in the atmosphere of intrigue that he had to breathe. To be able to criticise the personal violence which he confesses, *his smiting of some* of those who had married foreign wives, and *his plucking of their hair*, we would need to have stood by him through all his troubles. The surmise is reasonable that such extreme measures may have been best for the lax and self-indulgent among his contemporaries; with Orientals, treatment of

Criticisms of him answered.

[1] Neh. iii. 5. [2] vi. 3. [3] vii. 1; cf. xiii. 10 ff.

this kind from a man whom they trust or fear oftener enhances respect than induces resentment.[1] By the followers of Him who in that same desecrated City overturned the tables of the money-changers, and scourged with a scourge of cords, much may be forgiven to an anger which is not roused by selfish disappointments or the sense of weakness, but by sins against national ideals, and which means expense to him who displays it. Anger is often selfish, but may also be one of the purest and most costly forms of self-sacrifice. The disciples, who saw the exhaustion to which it put our Lord, said of Him, *the zeal of Thine House hath eaten me up.* Had we been present with this lonely governor, aware of the poorness of the best of the material he had to work with, and conscious, as we are to-day, of the age-long issues of his action, we might be ready to accord to his passion the same character of devotion and self-sacrifice. Such an 'Apologia pro Nehemiâ' is necessary in face of recent criticisms on his conduct, all the materials for which have been supplied by his own candour. One of not the least faults of a merely academic criticism is that it never appeals to Christian standards except when it would disparage the men of the Old Covenant; who at least understood as we cannot the practical conditions and ethical issues of the situations on which God set them to act.

'Ezra's contributions to the work.

In the great work which was then achieved at Jerusalem the presence of 'Ezra by Nehemiah's side is, as we have seen,[2] natural and authentic; but it is impossible to date 'Ezra's appearances and difficult to relate the two men, who almost never allude to each other. 'Ezra's contributions to the

[1] Witness John Nicholson and the Punjaubees.

[2] Above, p. 330.

work were the large reinforcement which he brought out of Babylonia to the loyal Jewish population of the land, his own zeal for reform, and above all his learning in the Law, without which the layman Nehemiah could hardly have succeeded in organising the community. 'Ezra the man is scarcely so clear to our eyes as Nehemiah; his Memoirs are more overlaid with the work of the Chronicler. Yet we can see in him certain differences, some of which at least are natural to the priest as distinguished from the governor. Nehemiah came to Jerusalem with a military escort, and, as he had prayed to God to move the king's heart to his request, so he saw nothing in these Persian guards inconsistent with the Divine protection. 'Ezra, on the contrary, tells us: *I was ashamed to ask of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen to help us against the enemy in the way because we had spoken unto the king, saying, The hand of our God is upon all them that seek Him for good, but His power and His wrath are against all who forsake Him*; and instead 'Ezra proclaimed a fast at the river Ahava, from which his company started, *that we might humble ourselves before God and seek of Him a straight way.*[1] As some one has said, while Nehemiah smote and plucked the hair of those who had married foreign women, 'Ezra in face of the same sinners rent his clothes and plucked the hair of his own head and beard and sat down stunned.[2] His dialect of Hebrew is legal and priestly; Nehemiah's is his own. 'Ezra has not, at first at least, the governor's powers of persuasion and inspiration; the people put him off from month to month.[3] When Nehemiah speaks they act at once. Still, if, as

His character.

[1] Ezra viii. 21-23. [2] ix. 3. [3] ix., x.

the compiler says, 'Ezra came to Jerusalem before Nehemiah, his frustrated labours no doubt prepared the way for the latter's success. What is hard to understand is that the two scarcely if at all mention one another. Would this mutual silence have been explained if we had had the rest of their Memoirs? Was it due to the differences of their temperaments? Or was Nehemiah, who found his only reliable officers, beyond his kinsfolk, among the Levites and musicians, suspicious of all priests; and did the priest 'Ezra take the other side from him in his efforts to get the Levites their tithes? These are questions, naturally arising from the materials at our disposal, but impossible to answer.

His contrast and relations to Nehemiah.

Yet this is certain, that it was 'Ezra who brought and expounded the Law to Jerusalem. It is not necessary here to discuss the origins of that Law: all we need to keep in mind is that (as we have seen) the life and worship of the community had hitherto been regulated by the Deuteronomic Code, and that most of the reforms effected by 'Ezra and Nehemiah were on the lines of the Priestly Code. The Book which 'Ezra brought to the people was, besides, new to them.[1] We can have little doubt, therefore, that the Priestly Code was what 'Ezra introduced, and what he and Nehemiah moved the people to adopt. Except for a few later additions the Pentateuch was complete, and Jerusalem in possession of the Law-book which was to govern her life, till she ceased to be Jewish. In our survey of the constitutional history we have sufficiently discussed the forms of government, foreign and native, to

Institution of the Law.

[1] Ezra vii. 14, 25; Neh. viii. 9 ff.

which the Jews were subject when Nehemiah arrived, as well as the reorganisation of the people under their new Law.[1]

Topographical: the Walls.

Most of the details of the topography of Nehemiah's Jerusalem have also been already discussed:[2] the course of the Walls and positions of the Gates with the character of his reconstruction. Nehemiah rebuilt the Walls of Jerusalem on the lines on which they had run before the Exile.[3] That is, the Walls again enclosed both the East and the South-west Hills. From somewhere about the present Citadel they ran on the brow of the South-west Hill above Hinnom, south and then east to the Fountain Gate near the mouth of the Central Valley, crossed this below Siloam, on one of the five lines discovered by Dr. Bliss,[4] continued north up the brow of the East Hill above Kidron towards the Temple enclosure, ran under this and then round the Temple mount, west and south-west on the unknown line of the Second Wall of Josephus back to the point from which we have started. On this circuit there were eight, perhaps nine, Gates: the Gate of the Gai at the south-west

[1] Vol. i. Bk. II. ch. ix., 'Government and Police,' sections iii. and iv., pp. 382 ff.

[2] Vol. i. Bk. I. ch. iv. p. 74, and ch. v. p. 111 on the Dragon's Well; ch. vii. pp. 177 ff. on the Gate of the Gai and the Dung-Gate; ch. viii. 'The Walls of Jerusalem,' pp. 195-204, on the course of the walls in Nehemiah's time and his rebuilding of them. Since those chapters were passed for press I have received a new essay on Nehemiah's walls and gates in Mommert's *Topographie des Alten Jerusalem*: ivter Theil (1907), the first four sections of which deal with Nehemiah's ride of inspection, his North, West and South Walls with their gates, his 'inner wall' which Mommert supposes to have crossed the South-west Hill, and the East Wall, and the routes of the two choirs (pp. 1-76).

[3] Vol. i. 195 ff.

[4] Vol. i. 220 ff.

corner, the Dung-Gate on the south stretch, the Fountain Gate at the south-east corner, a Water-Gate on Ophel, apparently a Horse-Gate, probably an East-Gate under the Temple, and—on the north stretch—the Sheep-Gate, the Fish-Gate, and the *Gate of the Old* . . . (?), which may have been the same as the Corner-Gate. The same amount of labour was not required on every part of this circuit: Wall and Gates seem to have been much less ruined on the west and south stretches than on the east and north. The stones for repair lay to hand in the ruins themselves, hence the short time the work occupied. Whether the timber that Nehemiah required from the King's Forest[1] was used for a course in the walls, as in the case of Solomon's Wall round the Temple,[2] or only for the posts and doors of the Gates,[3] is uncertain.

Nehemiah tells that he also required wood *to timber the gates of the Birah of the Temple. Birah*[4] is a new word in Hebrew, meaning *Castle*. Does it apply here—as it does in late Hebrew—to the whole Temple-mount with its enclosure, which formed a separate citadel within the City; or is it some particular fortress attached to the Temple? Nehemiah says no more about it except to mention a governor of the Birah.[5] This might indicate a separate castle, either the old David's-Burgh, or a fortified building on the site

The Birah of the Temple.

[1] Neh. ii. 8.

[2] See above, p. 67.

[3] So Mommert, *Topog. des alt. Jerus.*, iv^ter Theil 4. In his somewhat harsh criticism of Rückert, Mommert has forgotten the course of timber in Solomon's walls.

[4] בִּירָה, perhaps from the Assyrian *birtu* through Aramaic, found in the O.T. only in Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther and Daniel.

[5] Neh. vii. 2.

of the palace of Solomon, or less probably one to the north of the Temple on the site afterwards occupied by the Baris of the Hasmoneans and the Antonia of Herod.[1] But it is possible that by the Birah Neḥemiah meant the separately fortified Temple-Mount, which we know had its own gates. Where Neḥemiah's own house stood we do not know.

Other public or prominent buildings.

Of other buildings Neḥemiah mentions only the Turret of the Corner at the north-east angle of the City; Towers Hammeah and Ḥananeel to the north of the Temple; the Tower of the Ovens on the West wall; and—south of the Temple—the House of the Gibbôrim (the old Barracks of David); the Armoury; the House of the High Priest, evidently a large building, from the length of the wall in front of it; the upper House of the King with the Court of the Guard; the Projecting Tower (or Towers), the houses of the Priests and of the Nethinim.[2] It is significant that

All but one on the East Hill.

except the Tower of the Ovens all these buildings lie on the East Hill: a striking confirmation of the conclusion we have come to that till the time of Herod not only the Temple but the military and civil centre of Jerusalem was here, and not on the South-west Hill.[3] But indeed Neḥemiah's location of the stairs of the David's-Burgh would by itself be sufficient to prove the correctness of the East-Hill theory.

When the City walls were rebuilt on the old lines, it

[1] This, the site usually accepted (cf. Josephus xv. *Ant.* xi. 4; xviii. *Ant.* iv. 3), can hardly have been the Birah of Nehemiah, for on it or close to it stood the towers Hammeah and Ḥananeel.

[2] All these are given in ch. iii.

[3] Vol. i. Bk. i. ch. vi.

was found that the space was too great for the shrunken population. This has been estimated at 10,000.[1] Nehemiah took measures to increase it by drafts from the other Jewish settlements. But probably it was long before Jerusalem was again as full as she had been before the Exile.

Size of the Population.

[1] By Guthe (Hauck's *R.E.* viii. 683, on the basis of Neh. xi. 4-19).

CHAPTER XIV

THE REST OF THE PERSIAN PERIOD

431-332 B.C.

FROM the close of Nehemiah's Memoirs to the opening of the Maccabean histories—or more exactly from 431 B.C. to the fall of the Persian Empire before Alexander in 331, and from this onwards under the Ptolemies to the Seleucid conquest of Palestine in 197—the history of Jerusalem lies under an almost unbroken obscurity; from which many have too hastily turned as though it were a winter-fog and below lay a frosted City and a benumbed People. Far rather is it that mellow haze beneath which life in field and town runs perhaps the more busily that the horizons are narrow; and in the diffused light men's minds, though unable to read the past correctly or take clear views of the future, are the more disposed to reflect upon things which have little to do with time. We who stand so far from that haze fail to discern through it either the definite figures of men, the presence of powerful personalities, or even the exact character of such events as we otherwise know to have happened within it. And we observe, too, that one who, like Josephus, lived so much nearer to the period, confused its chronology and believed that he saw moving through its mists apparitions of a legendary character.

The Obscurity which rests on this Period.

Yet there is much in the period of which we may be sure besides the constant labour of the olive, the vine and the corn, the increasing smoke of sacrifice from the Temple, the great annual festivals, and—this is equally undoubted—the increase of population both in the City and over the narrow territory which she commanded. The flash of war breaks the haze more than once. We learn that Jerusalem was taken and perhaps sacked under Artaxerxes Ochus about 350, and 'was destroyed' by Ptolemy Soter in 312.[1] We have already seen[2] how the Law which the nation had adopted under Nehemiah became, with additions, gradually operative, and the supreme national authority was absorbed by the High Priest, the only chief whom the Law recognised; while around but beneath him there developed out of the loosely organised body of nobles and priests, whom we found under Nehemiah, an aristocratic council or senate, room for which had also been provided by the Law. The Samaritan schism was completed, a Samaritan Temple was built on Mount Gerizim, and round it a community was organised under a scarcely differing edition of the Law, yet so definitely in disruption from the Jews that these were no more haunted by fears of the intrusion into their life of elements so menacing to their higher ideals. The Jews passed from the Persian beneath a Greek dominion. Even earlier than this change of masters, they came into contact with the Greeks, and we have the first notices of them by Greek writers. After Alexander's Asian conquests (333-331)

Things certain in it.

Assaults on the City.

The Law, High Priest and Council.

The Samaritan Temple and Community.

Palestine passes under Greek influence.

[1] See below, p. 359 f.

[2] Vol. i. Bk. II. ch. ix. pp. 384-98.

their life began to be influenced by Greek culture and polity. Still rooted on their own soil and tenacious of their ancestral institutions and beliefs, as none of the neighbouring nations except the Samaritans continued to be, they felt the influences of a new climate which could not but affect their polity, and, compact as the nation was, test it with new solvents and split it into fresh factions which last through the New Testament period. All these general movements and changes are undoubted; and, though the haze does not (as we have said) permit even the nearest historians to discern a succession of dominant personalities through the period (beyond the roll of the governing High Priests); and though the literature which has come down to us from it is nearly all anonymous; we cannot, with the testimony of the latter before us, hesitate to believe that Israel was still the mother of great sons. When out of the mists rivers flow to our feet, we know that there are mountains behind.

Our Authorities for the Period.

As our authorities for this period we have five or six chapters of the *Antiquities* of Josephus,[1] but for reasons given above they are among the least reliable in that book of very various values; the notices of Greek historians and other writers which are either confined to the general history and geography of the time or merely mention such events as happened to Jerusalem, or (perhaps with one exception)[2] describe the City and the Jews from a very distant point of view; and some of the later literature of the Old Testament. This, however, is difficult to

[1] xi. *Ant.* vi.-viii.; xii. *Ant.* i., ii., and part of iii.

[2] The exception is the Pseudo-Aristeas. On that and the other Greek notices see next chapter.

assign to definite dates. We must beware of the temptation, offered us by an age of whose history we know so little, to use it as a last resort for literature which we have had difficulty in assigning to other periods just because of our better knowledge of these.[1] At the same time, we know with what amount of Law, History and Prophecy Israel entered the period after Nehemiah; that in particular the Priestly Law had been accepted as canonical, and that the Pentateuch in its present form was complete before the establishment of the Samaritan community. By 250 B.C. it was translated into Greek. Recent criticism has given fair reasons for assigning to the period between Nehemiah and 300 B.C. some additions to the Priestly Law, the Books of Chronicles, certain Psalms, the Book of Joel, 'Zechariah' ix.-xiv., the Book of Jonah, and probably the Book of Ruth and 'Isaiah xxiv.-xxvii.[2] We may be sure, too, that certain processes, which were consummated during the Greek period, such as the collection, with additions, of the Prophets, the construction of the Book of Proverbs, and the collection of Psalms for the Temple-service, had already begun; and some of them were perhaps even finished, under the Persians. For the rest, which include Job and a number of Psalms, we can only say that they more probably belong to the Persian Period than to any other. Ecclesiastes falls to be discussed in the next chapter.

[1] We must also remember that in the case of some writings which certainly belong to this age, it is impossible always to say definitely whether they come from the Persian or from the Greek half of it.

[2] To those some would add 'Isaiah' lvi.-lxvi., but we have seen reason for assigning these prophecies to the exilic and immediately post-exilic age: above, pp. 316 ff.

In this chapter we shall deal with Jerusalem through the remainder of the Persian Period: the century between the date of Nehemiah's second visit to the City in 431, and the fall of the Persian Empire in 331. The Jewish territory formed part of the great Persian Satrapy called *'Abar-Nahărah, Beyond-the-River*, both in the documents given in the Book of 'Ezra,[1] and on the coins of the rebellious Satrap Mazaeus:[2] the fifth of the 'Nomoi' or Satrapies described by Herodotus as 'all Phœnicia and Syria called the Palestinian, Cyprus . . .' with part of Arabia.[3] The boundaries were: on the north a line from the mouth of the Orontes to the great bend of the Euphrates near Tiphsah; on the south the Egyptian border at Mount Casius, and on the east an unknown line through the desert.[4] The seat of government appears to have been Samaria, the natural centre for Western Palestine, and in easy communication with the lands east of Jordan.[5]

Geographical and Political Condition.

Within this Satrapy lay the Jewish *Mědinah* or *Province*: Jerusalem, its suburban territory and such other towns with their fields as loyal Jews had held during the Exile or those returned from Babylon had reoccupied. After Nehemiah Judah appears to have had still a separate governor, but the Satrap sometimes held his court at Mispah,[6]

The Extent of the Jewish Territory.

[1] עֵבֶר־נַהֲרָה Ezra v. 6; vi. 6, Aramaic; cf. the Hebrew עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר Neh. iii. 7.

[2] Head, *Hist. Num.* 615. Compare 1 Macc. iii. 32, vii. 8, but not, as Wellhausen (*Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* 150) and Hölscher (*Palästina in der Pers. u. Hellenist. Zeit*, 5) do, xi. 60; for in the latter verse *the River* cannot be the Euphrates.

[3] Herodotus iii. 89-94.

[4] Cf. Hölscher, *op. cit.* 4-6.

[5] *H.G.H.L.* 332 f.

[6] This is a natural interpretation of the phrase in Neh. iii. 7, *the Mispah to* or *of the throne of the Pehah of 'Ēber-han-Nahar*. Mispah cannot

where the Babylonians had formerly posted Gedaliah as governor.[1] The extent of the Jewish territory is uncertain. The following districts, mentioned as those from which the Levites were summoned to Jerusalem, are all in the neighbourhood of the City; *the Kikkar* or *Circuit round Jerusalem*, the suburban territory;[2] *the villages of the Netôphâthites*, Netôphah being either the modern Liftā or the modern Bet-Nettîf;[3] *Beth-hag-Gilgal*, probably *the Gilgal which is over against the ascent of Adummim*, or about as far east of Jerusalem as Geba' is to the north;[4] and *the fields of Geba' and 'Azmaveth*.[5] From the following places came the Jews who helped to rebuild the walls: *Jerusalem and its Kikkar*; to the north *Gibe'on* and *Mispah*; to the west or south *Beth-hak-Kerem*, according as this is Jebel Fureidis or the modern 'Ain Kārim; to the east *Jericho*; and to the south *Teḳoa'*, *Ḳeilah*, *Beth-Ṣur* and *Zanoah*.[6] It is significant that no town is mentioned farther south than these: neither Hebron nor its neighbours Mareshah, Tappuaḥ and

have been the usual seat of the Satrap, as Hölscher (29) infers, for there is evidence that this was Samaria (Ezra iv. 10 ff.). The recently discovered Papyri (Sachau, *Drei Aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine*) mention a Peḥah of Judah in 411 B.C.

[1] Jer. xl. 6; 2 Kings xxv. 23.

[2] Vol. i. Bk. II. ch. iii.

[3] Henderson, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1878, 198, proposes its identification with Nephtoaḥ (Josh. xv. 9; xviii. 15), near Bethlehem.

[4] Josh. xv. 7. This identification was suggested independently by Professor Cheyne and myself, artt. Gallim and Gilgal (§ 6) in the *Enc. Bibl.* The ascent of Adummim is the modern Tal'at ed-Dum on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho. Hölscher (28) suggests Tell Jeljul, near Jericho, but this is too far from the City.

[5] Neh. xii. 28 f., probably from the Chronicler.

[6] Neh. iii. There is hardly sufficient reason to suppose with Smend (*Die Listen der Bücher Ezr. u. Neh.*) that only fragments have been preserved of the full list of the builders of the wall. Probably the wall was not equally ruined throughout its circuit, and some stretches of it required less restoration than others.

Ma'on, nor any place in the Negeb. In all probability these former seats of the Calebites were already occupied by the children of Edom who had come upon them during the Exile, and who certainly held them through the Maccabean period. With Hebron there would also fall the valuable oasis of Engedi, always a dependence of the Hebronites.[1] According to the Chronicler, the dispossessed Calebites occupied *Bethlehem*, *Kiriath-ye'arim* and *Beth-Gader* (perhaps the modern Khurbet Jedireh), *Ṣorea'* and *Eshtaol*.[2] For the same reason—that the Chronicler knew them as Jewish—*Ono*, *Lod* or Lydda, *Ayyalôn*,[3] the *Beth-Horons*, *Bethel*, *Yeshanah* and *'Ephron*,[4] have been added to the Jewish territory by some scholars. But Lydda and 'Ephron or Ephraim[5] were still Samaritan in the beginning of the Maccabean period, and Beth-Ḥoron (as we have seen)[6] was probably the town of Sanballaṭ, Neḥemiah's Samaritan foe. These places must, therefore, be left doubtful. Herr Hölscher argues that Jericho lay outside the Jewish territory and in possession of the Arabs.[7] His reasons are that a prophet whom he takes to be of the Persian Period[8] gives the eastern boundary of Judah as *the Vale of 'Akôr*, the Wâdy Kelt, and that Hieronymus of Kardia describes the whole circuit of the Dead Sea along with the balsam fields of the Ghôr as in possession of the Nabateans.[9] To these

Hebron and southward was Edomite.

Lydda, Beth-horon and 'Ephron probably Samaritan.

Jericho probably Jewish.

[1] *H.G.H.L.* 271 f.
[2] *Id.* viii. 12 f.
[3] Hölscher, *op. cit.* 30 ff.
[4] *Op. cit.* 46-50.
[5] 1 Chron. ii. 50-55.
[6] vii. 24; 2 Chron. xiii. 19 (Eng.).
[7] Above, p. 336.
[8] 'Isa.' lxv. 10. See above, p. 316 ff.
[9] Diod. Sic. xix. 98, the data of which are reasonably attributed to Hieronymus.

reasons might be added the fact that even when the kingdom of Judah was strong it did not hold Jericho, which belonged to Israel. The separableness of Jericho from Judah is therefore assured. But at the same time neither of those testimonies is exactly relevant to the geographical conditions in the time of Neḥemiah, the third quarter of the fifth century.[1] Since Neḥemiah himself states that men from Jericho took part in the rebuilding of the walls, we may assume that Jericho was then Jewish. It was a town which often and easily passed from one lord to another.[2] But even if we include Jericho, the Jewish territory was very small—some 20 miles north and south by 32 east and west (about 33 kilometres by 52), a large part desert, and the rest containing, at least in Neḥemiah's time, several settlements of a non-Jewish population.

Jewish Settlements beyond Judah.

Beyond Judæa, in Gilead and Galilee, there may already have been a few Jewish *enclaves* as there certainly were by the Maccabean period,[3] but the grounds on which the attempt is sometimes made to prove this are precarious. The Jewish communities which Simon and Judas Maccabeus brought away from Galilee and Gilead were very small, and the inference is reasonable that if they had been already planted in these provinces by an active Jewish propaganda during the Persian Period, they would have grown to something more powerful under the favourable reigns of the earlier Ptolemies.

[1] 'Isaiah' lxv. is, as we have seen, more probably contemporary with Haggai and Zechariah, or a little later with 'Malachi'; and Hieronymus of Kardia wrote towards the end of the fourth century.

[2] *H.G.H.L.* 266 f. See also below, p. 359.

[3] Stade, *Gesch.* ii. 198; Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* 160 ff.; Guthe, *Gesch.* 292; Hölscher, *op. cit.* 31-37.

Such was the small territory of which Jerusalem was the capital. The prophet Joel, about 400 B.C., represents its people as existing solely by agriculture and for the worship of their God. His vivid pictures, so far as they relate to the present, are divided between fields devastated by the locusts and a people gathered in Ṣion to implore the pity of Jahweh and to expect, one and all, the spirit of prophecy. Even when he discloses the future Joel betrays no ambition for a wide land and a great empire. It is remarkable how content he is to promise the fertility of Judah and the inviolableness of Jerusalem. From his emphasis on the latter we learn that the Holy City was full of foreigners;[1] probably her trade was still in their hands.[2] There had also been a selling by the heathen of a number of young Jews into the hands of the Greeks: a distant and, without Divine aid, an irrecoverable captivity.[3]

Joel's Picture of the Jewish community.

From 400 B.C. onwards Syria was the scene of many military expeditions and conflicts. For more than fifty years (408-343) Egypt endeavoured to assert her independence of Persia; and Artaxerxes II. Mnemon (404-358) and Artaxerxes III. Ochus (358-337) fought her, across the natural obstacles which defend her from Asian invasion, with many failures and the loss of large forces. The Persians were compelled to war during part of the same time with Evagoras of Cyprus, and those Phœnician cities which had put themselves under his protection. The gravity of the double crisis, and its uncertainties, must have tempted into revolt the other peoples of Palestine, and

Probable Disasters to Jerusalem, *circa* 350 B.C.

[1] iii. 17 (Heb. iv. 17).
[2] See above, pp. 319, 326, 339 f.
[3] iii. 6 (Eng. = iv. 6 Heb.).

have embittered towards them the temper of the Persian kings; a dynasty which, so long as their power was secure, treated their subjects with considerable kindness. The tides of war rolled up and down the coast of the Levant; many of its towns were given to fire and sword. We have two traditions that under one or other Artaxerxes, Jerusalem became involved in these disasters. On the one hand, it is stated by Syncellus, and in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, that 'Ochus, son of Artaxerxes, when on a campaign against Egypt, made a partial captivity of the Jews, of whom he settled some in Hyrkania on the Caspian Sea, and some in Babylonia, who are even now there, as many of the Greeks relate.'[1] Solinus contributes a very mixed reminiscence of what seems to be the same event. 'The capital of Judæa was Jerusalem, but it was destroyed; Jericho succeeded, but it also has disappeared, having been conquered in the war of Artaxerxes.'[2] On the other hand, Josephus records[3] that when the high-priest John, the grandson of Nehemiah's contemporary Eliashib, slew Jesus his brother and rival in the Temple, Bagōses, 'the general of another Artaxerxes' (that is, another than Artaxerxes I., Longimanus), came in anger to Jerusalem, for he had promised the high-priesthood to Jesus, forcibly entered the Temple, and imposed on the Jews a tax of fifty drachms for every lamb offered in the daily sacrifices. These are the two traditions: both late, but independent of each other. There is no reason against the substance of either of them: that under the second or third

[1] Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, ii. 112 f.; Syncellus, ed. Dindorf, i. 486. Cf. Orosius, III. vii. 6 f.

[2] Reinach, *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, 339, from the *Collectanea* of Solinus, Mommsen's ed. 1864.

[3] xi. *Ant.* vii. 1.

Artaxerxes Jerusalem was punished by the Persians, a number of Jews carried into exile (it must have been for an actual or a threatened revolt), and the Temple defiled by the entrance of the Persian general. The time to which these events have been assigned is that of the campaigns of Artaxerxes Ochus from 353 onwards, especially after the defeat of the Persians in 352 by Egypt, and the consequent revolt of the Phœnician states. A certain Bagōas was the Persian general in Phœnicia in 348-346.[1] A religious revolt by the Jews, during those disturbances in Syria when the Persian power was shaken to its foundations, was likely; not less probably Artaxerxes Ochus, or his general Bagōas, punished it, as they punished the risings in Egypt and Phœnicia, by profaning, if not destroying, the Temple, and putting the Jews under heavier tribute. But the Papyri discovered at Assouan state that in 411 B.C. Bagohi was Peḥah of Judah, and Iehoḥanan High-Priest at Jerusalem.[2] Professor Robertson Smith suggested that the story in Josephus of the forcible entrance to the Temple by Bagōses is really a pragmatical invention in order to soften the catastrophe to the Jews, and partly to explain it by the sin of the High-Priest. This was accepted by Professor Cheyne, and both scholars transferred to the campaign of Bagoas Psalms xliv., lxxiv., and lxxvii., which had been generally regarded as Maccabean.[3] The latter two Psalms,

[1] The stratum of fact which may underlie the Book of Judith has been referred to the same events on account of the likeness of the name Holophernes to that of Orophernes, the leader at the time of a Persian army (Diod. Siculus, xxxi. 19).

[2] Above, pp. 354 f., *n.* 6.

[3] W. R. Smith, *O.T.J.C.*(2), 207, 438 ff.; Cheyne, *Introd. to Isaiah*, 358 ff. On the other side see A. B. Davidson, *Critical Review*, 1893, 19; A. R. S. Kennedy, *Expository Times* (1892), 247. Cf. Cheyne, *Ib.* 320.

however, as well as 'Isaiah' lxiv. 10, which has also been referred to the same period, reflect a much more disastrous attack upon both City and Temple than we have a right to infer (in spite of Professor Robertson Smith's theory) from the meagre data of the traditions; and while the passage in Isaiah is referable to the destruction by Nebuchadrezzar,[1] those in the Psalms are possibly Maccabean, or if so late a date for them be deemed improbable, may refer to the destruction of Jerusalem by Ptolemy Soter.[2]

Development of the Nation

Whatever may have been the facts we have just discussed, and apart from the question of Jewish settlements at this time in Gilead, Galilee and elsewhere, there can be no doubt that during the last century of the Persian dominion the Jewish nation developed considerably in numbers, in resources and in institutions. As to the numbers, we have seen that the population of Jerusalem in Nehemiah's time proved too small for the restored City, and that a levy was made upon the Jews of other townships to supply what was lacking. But by the beginning of the Greek Period we have evidence, both from the Chronicler and other sources, that the population was comparatively large and fairly prosperous, and that there prevailed among them the spirit of a people which not only felt itself worthy of its great past, but was quietly confident of the future. Still, we must not suppose that the vast numbers, in which the Chronicler indulges, are correct. A quarter of a million would be a generous estimate for the population of Judah at this period.

Of the development of the institutions we find evidence

[1] See also above, p. 315 *n.* 4.

[2] See below, p. 376.

by a comparison between the Priestly Law, with which the people started upon the century from Neḥemiah to Alexander the Great, and the Chronicler's description, which may be taken as reflecting the conditions prevalent at its close. Neḥemiah had secured for his nation the full practice of their Law, and there is no reason to suppose that their Persian lords seriously interfered with this. We are to conceive the Jews, through the rest of the Persian Period, as settling into those habits of life which ever afterwards distinguished them. There is a significant contrast between the complaints of Neḥemiah and some prophets immediately before him about the popular neglect of the Sabbath, and the unanimous refusal of the nation to fight on that day, which enabled Ptolemy I., in 321, to take Jerusalem. The observance of the Sabbath, and the three great annual festivals, the system of sacrifices, the application of the ritual to the routine and emergencies of life, whether individual or national, the appointment, duties and rights of the priests, the influence of the High-Priest without a rival to dispute his gradual advancement to the political headship of the nation, and the institution around him of a college of priests and nobles,[1]—all these, organised or suggested in the Priestly Code, must have been developed and confirmed. Of High-Priests during the time we read of only three,[2] an indication that in religious matters the Jews

and of its Institutions.

[1] Vol. i. 386 ff.

[2] Eliashib, Neḥemiah's contemporary, was succeeded by his son Ioiada; he by his son Iohanan, according to Josephus, a contemporary of Bagōas, the servant of Artaxerxes II. (according to the Assouan Papyrus both I. and B. were in office in 411 B.C.); and he by his son Iaddua, a contemporary, according to Josephus, of Alexander (xi. *Ant.* viii.; cf. Neh. xii. 11, 22).

were left to themselves. But while the Law was thus carried out, and even developed, it is plain from the Books of Chronicles that the development included a number of features for which the Law finds no place. Priests and Levites were divided each into twenty-four courses;[1] the Temple-singers, musicians and door-keepers had become large and equally organised bodies, which were recognised as of Levitical rank.[2] The elaboration of the Temple music is especially interesting. We must not suppose that its origins were recent, or that the Chronicler had no grounds for carrying these back to the beginnings of the Temple itself; but when we compare the Priestly Code with the Chronicler's descriptions of the Temple organisation and worship, we cannot doubt that during the century after Nehemiah the Levitical choirs and the whole personnel of the Temple service had been extraordinarily increased. There are no parts of the Old Testament so impossible to date with exactness as the vast majority of the Psalms. Yet it is a reasonable inference, from the development of the Jewish ritual during this age, that to the latter belong a number of the liturgical Psalms, as well as some of those collections of earlier hymns and their adaptation to the Temple-service, of which so much evidence is found in the Psalter. The Pilgrim Psalms have also been assigned by some to the Persian age. Like everything else ordained by the Law, the three festivals of the sacred

[1] 1 Chron. xxiii. f.; cf. 2 Chron. xxiii. 4, 8.

[2] 1 Chron. xxiii. 3-5 (cf. vi. 16-48), xxvi. 1-19; 2 Chron. xx. 19. The singers are not mentioned in the Law, and in Nehemiah they are a class lower than the Levites, while the doorkeepers are lower still, and only 138 in number: Neh. vii. 44 f. Cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 150 ff.; *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* 151 ff.; Guthe, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, 296 f.

year became more than ever fundamental institutions; and Jerusalem herself—not merely the one large town which the nation possessed, but their only valid shrine and altar—absorbed nearly all their patriotism and religious zeal. We cannot say *all*, if the Song of Songs and the Books of Jonah and of Job belong to this period.

Similarly stimulated and organised were other functions of the national energy, which were also of the utmost importance for the future of Jerusalem and her religion. We have seen how the figure of 'Ezra the Scribe dominates equally with that of Nehemiah the historical writings of the Persian Period,[1] and to what eminence among the people his whole profession had attained by the beginning of the second century.[2] Before 300 B.C. the Scribes, both priests and laymen, were organised in companies or guilds.[3] The Scribes were the guardians and interpreters of the sacred writings, the scholars and canonists of their age. First and foremost they were doctors of the Law, declaring its meaning, developing its details, and applying them to particular cases. They rewrote—in the Books of Chronicles—the nation's history in light of the doctrines and institutions of the Law. They taught the Law and the History to the people and their rulers. The religious instruction of the nation was in their hands. They used the Temple-Courts and the Synagogues for this purpose. There they read and expounded the sacred books in the hearing of the people; but besides reasoning on the details of the Law, they composed in

Development of the Scribes.

[1] Above, p. 330.

[2] See the eulogy of the Scribes by the Son of Sira, Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 24-xxxix. 12; cf. vol. i. 392, and below, pp. 386 f.

[3] 1 Chron. ii. 55.

its praise hymns for popular use, and framed of its ethical substance discourses of warning and consolation.

But the life of Israel had always been wider and more rich than even the spirit of the Law expressed. The Scribes could not be in contact with that life, whether as calling to them from the ancient literature of which they were masters, or as throbbing less articulately in the ethical experience and intellectual problems of the common people of their own day, from whom most of them were sprung, without the stronger minds among them being drawn away from the legal centre of their profession upon enterprises more free and humane. Both their literary acumen and their conscience as educators were greater than was the case among the Scribes of our Lord's time. Besides *meditating on the Law of the Most High*, it was the duty of the Scribe, according to the Son of Sira, *to be occupied in prophecies, to seek out the wisdom of all the ancients and the hidden meaning of proverbs, and to be conversant in the dark sayings of parables.*[1]

Their wider Sympathies and Enterprises.

We cannot deny some of the development of these interests to the Scribes of the Persian Period. The study of the Prophets, and the feeling, betrayed by many alterations and additions to their text, of its lasting religious worth, of its message to each new generation, which led to the completion of the Canon of the Prophets by 250 B.C.,[2] were already operative. The Scribes of the Persian Period worked with the great horizons of the Prophets before them, and in touch with the passion and originality of the Prophets' ethics. But besides

The Scribes and the Wise Men.

[1] Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 1-3.

[2] Or, at the latest, 200 B.C.

the Priests and the Prophets there had been in the nation, at least since Jeremiah's time, another definite class of active minds, *the Wise Men*.[1] Not at all concerned with the ritual and little with the national interests of Israel's faith, they occupied themselves with the general elements of religion, and were more free to develop that Scepticism which we found originating among the Prophets themselves.[2] From these Wise Men it is not possible, with Ben Sira's words before us, to distinguish part at least of the Scribal profession. But whether it was Scribes during the Persian Period, or the Wise Men of an earlier age, who produced such works as the Book of Job and certain Psalms on the problems of life and immortality; or whether the powers of synthesis and imagination evinced in the Prologue to the Book of Proverbs are to be assigned to the Persian or to the Greek period—are questions which we are without the material to answer. The collections of *Proverbs* and *dark sayings of parables* which that Prologue introduces must have had a very early origin, but probably were not complete till the Greek period. We can hardly doubt that the Scribes of the Persian age had a share in the formation of them.

[1] Jer. xviii. 18.

[2] For example, in Jeremiah and Habakkuk.

CHAPTER XV

THE JEW AND THE GREEK

332-168 B.C.

OF all the movements of history, none are more fitted to attract our curiosity than those by which Jew and Greek first came into contact: when the minds were confronted and the spiritual heritages began to be exchanged, whose concurrence and interaction were destined to exercise so enormous an influence upon civilisation. The first attitudes of the two races to each other: their recognition of a common temper, their earliest criticisms, and their gradual discovery of an antagonism between their principles, all took place in Egypt and Syria under Alexander the Great and his successors—the period of the history of Jerusalem which we have now reached. But the early promises of this intimacy, and the gradual approaches to it, are also of interest. I may summarise them in a paragraph, but I must leave the details, so far as they have been discovered, to another occasion.[1]

When Jew met Greek.

1. Before Alexander the Great.

Representatives of the ancient civilisations of Mycenæ

[1] I regret that I have not space for an Appendix I had prepared giving these details in full.

and Crete, men of Greek race from the isles and coasts of the Ægean, found their way to Egypt in very early times, and formed settlements on the Delta and in south-western Palestine. The Israel of Saul and David encountered them in the Philistines, and some of their adventurers constituted the royal bodyguard in Jerusalem. It is probable that a few of their military and political terms passed into Hebrew and appear in the Old Testament. But for such earlier movements we await the clearer light which is promised from the excavations in Crete and at Gezer. More discernible are fresh settlements of Greek traders on the Delta from 700 onwards, and the enlistment of Greek mercenaries by Psametik about 660. During the following century both of these classes increased, and the Jewish refugees to Egypt in 586 must have come into contact with them. We know of Greeks in the court or army of Nebuchadrezzar (604-561), acquaintance with whom can hardly have been missed by some of his captives from Jerusalem. The Phœnicians had for centuries been in communication with Greek lands and peoples. And finally, there was the long war between the Greeks and the Persian masters of the Jews, 499-449.

Earliest Contacts of Greeks with Egypt and W. Asia.

It is in writings of the Babylonian and Persian periods that we find the first Hebrew references to Greeks under the name Iawan: that is Ionian, spelt with the original digamma. Ezekiel mentions them among the traffickers with Tyre in slaves and bronze.[1] The Priestly Document names

Earliest References in Hebrew to the Greeks.

[1] Ezek. xxvii. 13. The reference to Iawan in 19 is doubtful; the text is not certain.

Iawan as a son of Japhet and *father* of the western peoples, or settlements, of Elisha (Sicily or Carthage), Tarshish (most probably in Spain), Kittim or Cyprus, and the Rodanim or Rhodians.[1] To a post-exilic prophet Iawan is a *coastland afar off*, which has not heard of the fame of the God of Israel;[2] and about 400 Joel (as we have seen) speaks of sons of Judah and Jerusalem who were sold by the Phœnicians to the sons of the Iĕwanîm.[3]

But remote as the Greeks still appear in Jewish literature, the Jews are even less distinguishable in Greek writings of the same period. It is doubtful whether the fragment quoted by Josephus from the fifth-century poet Choerilos actually refers to them;[4] if it does, it shows knowledge neither of their name nor of their characteristics. Herodotus, who was acquainted with some of the peoples of Syria,[5] does not mention Jerusalem or Judah, and, more strangely, takes no notice of the Jewish settlements in Egypt. In the works of Aristotle there is no mention of the Jews, not even when he touches with reserve upon a report which he heard of the Dead Sea.[6] But a pupil of his, Clearchus of Soli,[7] quotes him as describing a Jew whom he had met in Asia Minor, and who had evidently contributed some authentic information about the people, for Clearchus is the only Greek writer who gives an exact transliteration of the name of Jerusalem.[8] Adopting a fashion in which his countrymen rapidly became expert, the Jew had emphasised or exaggerated the resemblance

Earliest Greek References to the Jews.

[1] Gen. x. 2, 4. Cf. 1 Chron. i. 5, 7.
[2] 'Isa.' lxvi. 19.
[3] Joel iii. 6 (Eng. = iv. 6 Heb.).
[4] See vol. i. 262.
[5] *Hist.* ii. 104.
[6] *Meteor.* II. iii. 39.
[7] In Josephus, *C. Apion.* i. 22.
[8] Vol. i. 260.

between the principles of his religion and those of the illuminated Greeks to whom he was talking. Clearchus calls the Jews 'the philosophers of the Syrians,' and with the perspective of a distant observer of the East, derives them from the 'Kalanoi' or 'philosophers of India.' This Jew, then, talked Greek, and understood the sympathies of his Greek interrogants. But it is implied that he was the first of his kind in their experience, which (we must remember) already included the beginnings of trade with the Further East; and his information apparently left them unconscious of the separate polity of the Jews among the peoples of Syria.[1] In Egypt the Greek ignorance of the Jews, the mutual sense of remoteness between the two races, cannot have been so great. They had been in contact on the Delta since 600, and must have discovered to each other something of their respective qualities and institutions.

2. Alexander and the Jews: 332-323 B.C.

Alexander's Asian Policy.

In any case a very great difference in the relations of the two races was effected by the Asian conquests of Alexander, and by the policy which his successors believed he had bequeathed to them. These not only brought Jews and Greeks together in the comradeships and rivalries of endless campaigns, but surrounded Judah with a host of Greek communities, and drew her people abroad into residence and citizenship all over the Greek world. Whatever may have been

[1] It is possible, from the date of Clearchus, that the incident he reports fell not before but after Alexander's invasion; yet this would only make the incident still more significant of the Greek world's ignorance of the Jews.

the motives from which his father designed and he embarked upon the war against Persia,[1] there is no doubt that Alexander developed, and that his successors, but especially the Seleucids, accepted, the ambition of Hellenising the East, or, more exactly, of founding an empire which should enlist all the virtues and energies of Asian life, but organise them in a system and with a spirit that were Greek.[2] There is one essential resemblance between Alexander's invasion of the East and Napoleon's. Besides the military ambitions which inspired them, both expeditions felt the impulses of intellectual revolutions which had liberated the minds of their leaders from at least the forms of their national religions, and had sent them forward ready to sympathise with many elements in the civilisations they came to conquer. In Alexander's army, and still more among the Greeks who thronged into Asia behind it, there were numbers of philosophic Greeks who, as appears from the story of Clearchus, were eager to discover among the barbarians resemblances to their own intellectual tempers. But of all the peoples of Western Asia none, as we shall see, were more fitted to satisfy this desire than the Jews.[3]

[1] Polybius, iii. 6, defines the *cause* as the discovery, in the expeditions of Xenophon and Agesilaus, of the cowardice and inefficiency of the Persians; and the *pretext* the desire to avenge the injuries inflicted by Persia on Greece. There was also the avowed intention of freeing the Greek cities in Asia. But the pupil of Aristotle doubtless already cherished the aims which he afterwards developed, of Hellenising the Asiatics. It is even reported that he rejected Aristotle's advice to treat the Greeks as masters and the peoples he subdued as slaves, and expressed the hope of uniting victors and vanquished, without distinctions, in one commonwealth (Plutarch, *Mor.*, 'On the Fortune of Alexander').

[2] On the Seleucid policy, Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 181 ff.

[3] The ancient authorities for this period are the historians of Alexander's expedition; the Greek writers from about 300 onwards who have left notices

By 331 Alexander had overthrown the Persian Empire and established his own in Western Asia. He had besieged and taken Tyre (333-332), had marched down the coast of Palestine and taken Gaza, had been welcomed in Egypt and founded Alexandria, had returned through Palestine and finally defeated Darius at Arbela.[1] Josephus relates that the High-Priest Jaddua, because of his oath of fealty to the Persians, refused to obey the conqueror's summons from Tyre; that to punish him Alexander marched on Jerusalem from Gaza, and Jaddua, being instructed of God in a dream, went to meet him at Sapha, arrayed in the robes of his office and the mitre with the sacred Name; and that, to the astonishment of his generals, Alexander immediately saluted the solemn figure and adored the Name, for in the former he recognised one who had appeared to him in a dream in Macedonia and inspired him to march against the Persians. The conclusion of the

His Arrival in Syria, 333 B.C., and alleged Visit to Jerusalem, 332.

of the Jews (collected by Th. Reinach, *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, 1895), fragments of Diodorus Siculus, Polybius and Appian; and of Jewish writers Daniel vii. ff., Ecclesiasticus, 1 Maccabees i., 2 Macc. i.-vii., Josephus, *Contra Apionem* and *Antiquities* xi. viii.-xii. v. Of moderns these will be found useful:—O. Holtzmann in Stade's *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 273 ff. (1888); J. Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* ch. xvi. (1888, 4th ed. 1901); Schürer, *Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes* (3rd ed. 1901); Mahaffy, *Greek Life from Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (1887), *Greek World under Roman Sway* (1890), and *Empire of the Ptolemies* (1895); H. Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen vor der Makkabäischen Erhebung* (1895); A. Büchler, *Die Tobiaden u. die Oniaden* (1899); G. Hölscher, *Pal. in der Pers. u. Hellenistichen Zeit* (1903); A. Schlatter, *Gesch. Israels von Alex. dem Grossen bis Hadrian* (2nd ed. 1906); E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*. Consult also W. R. Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul* (1907), Schürer's art. 'Diaspora' in Hastings' *D.B.*, extra vol., and H. Guthe's art. 'Dispersion' in the *Enc. Bibl.*

[1] 'The passage of the Granicus rendered Alexander master of the Greek colonies; the battle of Issus gave him Tyre and Egypt; the battle of Arbela gave him the whole earth.'—Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, x. 14.

story is that Alexander went with the High-Priest into the Temple, offered sacrifices, was shown the prophecies of Daniel concerning himself, and gave permission to the Jews, not only of Judah but of Media and Babylonia, to live under their own laws.[1] The whole of this narrative has a legendary appearance, its geographical data are difficult, its chronology is mixed up with that of Sanballat, the contemporary of Nehemiah; and no other writer even hints that Jerusalem was visited by Alexander.[2] Some recollection of such a visit would surely have been preserved by other Jews. As it is, Alexander appears by name in only one Jewish book,[3] and neither there nor in the prophecies of Daniel is there a suggestion of any contact between him and Jerusalem, or of special treatment of the Jews in his policy. Had he and his officers enjoyed a close acquaintance with the Temple, its ceremonies and its books, some effects of this would have been visible in the histories of his expedition,[4] or in the writings of those Greeks who soon began to take an interest in Jerusalem. Their silence rather implies that Alexander and his army left

This improbable.

[1] Jos. xi. *Ant.* viii. 3-5.

[2] If Alexander went from Gaza to Jerusalem, it is curious that Jaddua should have met him at Sapha, for this, 'from which there is a prospect both of Jerusalem and the Temple,' can only be Scopus on the *northern* approach to the City; yet compare below the tradition of his capture of Samaria. Arrian, *Anab. of Alex.* iii. 1, states that Alexander went 'in seven days' from Gaza to Pelusium, as if his march into Egypt followed immediately upon his capture of Gaza. Justin, in his epitome of Trogus Pompeius, xi. 10, says 'many kings wearing fillets met him'; but Curtius, iv. 5, adds that 'he visited some cities who as yet refused the yoke of his government.' The prophecies of Daniel, as we have them, were not yet written.

[3] 1 Macc. i. 1-8; vi. 2.

[4] Which describe his visit to Gordium after the battle of Issus, his relations with the oracle of Ammon, and his care for the worship of Bel at Babylon.

Palestine unaware of the distinctive customs of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. All that is probable is that, with the other 'chiefs wearing fillets,' whom Justin mentions,[1] the High-Priest made his submission to the conqueror; and that Alexander confirmed the people in the practice of their own laws. At least no grudge against him is expressed in Jewish literature,[2] which only records that after his overthrow of the Persian empire and his *slaughter of the kings of the earth, the earth was quiet before him*.[3] A credible tradition says that he settled Macedonians in Samaria,[4] the only capital of ancient Israel on the western watershed. 'Omri had chosen the site in pursuance of his Phœnician policy, and Herod, with his further western outlook, was to rebuild it before constructing his new port of Cæsarea. Near the natural centre of the land, but in sight of the sea, there was no fitter capital for the Greek authorities in Palestine.[5] Jerusalem would have been of far less use to them. But it is probable that Jews entered the army of Alexander,[6] and certain that a number settled

[1] See previous page, *n.* 2. [2] Cf. Schlatter, p. 8.

[3] 1 Macc. i. 3. The prophecies of Daniel emphasise the destructive force of his conquests, but similarly do not attribute to him any oppression of the Jews. Wellhausen, pp. 182 f. *n.* 1, assigns to the time of his conquests Psalm xlvi., which reflects a disturbance of the whole earth, the overthrow of the heathen not at, but away from, Jerusalem, and the inauguration of a great peace. 'An Alexander konnten in der Tat eben so grosse Hoffnungen geknüpft werden wie an Cyrus und die Begrüssung wäre seiner und nur seiner wert.'

[4] Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, ii. 114. See also below, p. 376.

[5] We must clearly distinguish between the *town* Samaria, the Greek capital, and the surrounding *country* of Samaria, from which the Samaritans derived their Greek name. The latter had nothing to do with the *town* Samaria; their centre, however, was an hour and a half distant in Shechem and on Mount Gerizim. The two are easily confounded, as by Mahaffy, *Greek World under Roman Sway*, 43 f.

[6] Hecatæus, quoted by Josephus, *C. Apion.* i. 22.

in his new foundation of Alexandria. We may believe that with the versatility of their race, who knew how to make themselves useful to each fresh conqueror, individual Jews assisted his officers with the collection of the tribute and furnished him with supplies and information.[1] Like the Ptolemies after him, Alexander would find among the Jews of Egypt men at once acquainted with his own tongue and familiar with the social conditions of Palestine. These are the probable facts, but the story of his visit to Jerusalem embodies also this truth, that the illuminated Greeks who thronged to Syria with him or in his wake, soon discovered a sympathy between themselves and the equally versatile Jews. Looking back from a later period, Hellenised Jews remembered what Alexander had done for them, and invented the story that it was their own High-Priest who had appeared to the King in Macedonia with the appeal: 'Come over to Asia and help us.'

The Truth behind the Legend.

3. Wars of the Ptolemies and Seleucids for Palestine: 323-198 B.C.

On Alexander's death in 323 peace was again disturbed. *His servants bare rule each in his place; they did all put on diadems after he was dead, and so did their sons after them many years; and they multiplied evils upon the earth.*[2] Perdiccas took charge of affairs at Babylon, Antigonus obtained 'Asia,' Ptolemy, son of Lagus, seized Egypt. Among

The immediate Successors of Alexander, 323-320.

[1] Mahaffy, *Greek Life*, ch. xx., says that Alexander got valuable information from Jews about the interior of Asia.

[2] 1 Macc. i. 8, 9.

these rival heirs of Alexander and their successors Palestine lay, as from the beginning it had lain between the empires of Mesopotamia and the Nile, the highway of their wars, the prey of their rival ambitions. Perdiccas appears to have been its first master. He is said to have rebuilt or fortified Samaria,[1] and he invaded Egypt; but, being repulsed, he was slain by his officers, and Seleucus succeeded him in 321. In this year Ptolemy invaded Palestine, and is said to have seized Jerusalem, for what reason is not apparent. Disturbances may have arisen between the Jews and Samaritans;[2] or either or both may have chosen to keep their allegiance to the northern Greeks. In any case there is nothing in the circumstances of the time to move us to doubt the story. Josephus says that Ptolemy came to the City on a Sabbath, as if to sacrifice, and took the Jews by surprise; but he quotes Agatharchides to the effect that the Jews desisted from fighting because it was the Sabbath.[3] Ptolemy led a large number of the nation captive to Egypt; and of his treatment of Jerusalem herself Appian uses a term which may denote either that he 'destroyed' or 'reduced' her.[4] In the former case it would be possible to refer to the disaster some of the Psalms usually assigned either to evils inflicted by Artaxerxes Ochus about 350, or to those by Antiochus Epiphanes in 168.[5]

Assault on Jerusalem by Ptolemy I.

Seleucus was obliged to flee from Babylon before

[1] Eusebius, as above.

[2] Who (as explained on p. 374 *n.* 5) had nothing to do with the now Greek Samaria, but had their centre four or five miles from it on Mount Gerizim.

[3] Jos. xii. *Ant.* i.; *C. Apion.* i. 22.

[4] Καθηρήκει: *Syr.* 50.

[5] See above, p. 359, and below, p. 434 f.

Antigonus, and found refuge with Ptolemy. In 314 Antigonus occupied Palestine, but in 312 his army was defeated by Ptolemy, whose fleet Seleucus commanded. Seleucus re-entered Babylon, and therefore from 312 the Seleucid era was started, upon which by the peoples of Palestine the years were dated down to, and in part after, the arrival of the Romans. Ptolemy held Palestine for only a year, when it again passed to Antigonus. In 306 the latter's son Demetrius defeated the Egyptian fleet and took Cyprus. But in 301 Antigonus fell at Ipsus before a fresh coalition of his Greek rivals, and (though till about 285 Demetrius held sway over Tyre, Ṣidon and the sea) Seleucus took northern Syria and Ptolemy regained Palestine. All these struggles for the possession of Palestine appear to have been limited to the sea-board and to Samaria,[1] which was twice captured and once destroyed. Jerusalem lay aloof from the path and the main interest of the campaigners, experiencing only rapid changes in the direction in which her High-Priest had to despatch the national tribute. It is possible that the two fine prophecies 'Zechariah' ix.-xi. and xii.-xiv. date from these disturbances; but, while both are post-exilic and apparently of the Greek period, we cannot give them an exact date.

Jerusalem aloof from the subsequent struggles, 320-301.

The story of Alexander's conquests and of the fortunes of his immediate successors will have made clear to us the change that has come over the political world of Jerusalem. This had been wonderfully anticipated by the Prophets of the Exile

The new Disposition of Jerusalem's World.

[1] For the course of them see Diod. Sic. xix.; the fragments assigned to Hecatæus in Jos., *C. Apion.* i. 22; Appian, *Syr.* 53 ff.; and Eusebius, *Chron.*

and of the following century, in their outlook upon the isles and coasts of the Mediterranean and in their vision of Jerusalem on the sea, radiant with its light and with the new hopes that were dawning across it.[1] The old political centres have passed away—Nineveh, Babylon, Shushan. The centre of gravity, if we may speak of such a thing in a condition of affairs still so unstable, has moved to the west; and the sovereignty of Palestine is decided on the sea as well as on the land. Alexandria has been founded and Babylon replaced as a centre both of trade and of culture. Palestine still lies, as of old, between an Egyptian power and one sufficiently in possession of the ancient Asiatic centres to be called by the name of Assyria. But both powers are Greek; with Eastern ambitions indeed, yet of an inspiration and resources that are largely of the West. Even the internal arrangements of Palestine have felt the fact in the fixing of the local centre of authority in the seaward Samaria.[2]

The Ptolemies the most stable of the Greek Dynasties,

By seizing Egypt Ptolemy obtained what for the time was the best share of his master's empire, because not only did it include Alexandria, with the trade from the Red Sea and the issues to Europe, but because the whole land lay apart, entrenched by sea and desert from all his rivals, whose domains were not secluded from each other by any such barriers. Hence Ptolemy's kingdom and dynasty remained the most stable of the powers into which Alexander's empire was divided; and hence, too, they were at first the most constant masters of Palestine. During the

and at first the most constant Masters of Palestine.

[1] See above, pp. 322 f.

[2] See above, p. 374.

next century, 301 to 198, they held it with but few interruptions. Jerusalem lay under Egyptian rule, and Alexandria was the centre of her world.

But when, about 300, Seleucus mastered his other rivals, and under the same attraction to the Mediterranean established a capital at Antioch on the Orontes, with a port at Seleucia, he ensured for Palestine, at however distant a date, a change to the north in her unchanging servitude to foreign lords. For the country which, instead of Mesopotamia, Seleucus made the centre of his kingdom—the country which lies between the Euphrates and the Lebanons, and which received the distinctive name of Seleucis—is not separated[1] from Palestine, as Egypt is, by a great stretch of desert. Palestine belongs with it to the same physical system, and neither Seleucus nor his successors ever resigned their claims to the whole of this.[2] From 264 to 248 they fought for Palestine with the second Ptolemy, Philadelphus (285-246), and, after a short peace, with Ptolemy III., Euergetes (246-221). He not only held his own but overran Seleucis to its limit, the Euphrates; and in particular Seleucia, the port

Their inevitable replacement by the Seleucids.

[1] The southern boundary of Seleucis was held to be the river Eleutherus, north of Beyrout: so Strabo, xvi. ch. 11 § 12 (quoting Posidonius?); cf. Hölscher, *op. cit.* 51-55.

[2] This is made clear in Polybius v. 67, on the debate at Seleucia between Antiochus III. and Ptolemy IV. (218 B.C.) as to which was the legitimate heir to Coelesyria. The elastic name of Coelesyria was given at this time to all Palestine from the Lebanons southward; Hölscher (*op. cit.* 51-55) argues that it consisted of four satrapies, Idumæa, Samaria, Phœnicia, and probably Coelesyria in the narrower sense of the name. Idumæa is placed among the satrapies of Seleucus in Diod. Sic. xix. 95, 98, which, as based on the nearly contemporary evidence of Hieronymus of Kardia, is proof that Seleucus regarded all Coelesyria in the broader sense (even its most southern province of Idumæa) as constituting part of his kingdom.

of Antioch, remained Egyptian till 220. Meantime Antiochus III., the Great (223-187), had come to the Seleucid throne and imagined that he saw a weaker Ptolemy, Ptolemy IV. (221-204), succeed to that of Egypt. Antiochus overran Palestine in 218, but next year was beaten back at Raphia, a historic battlefield between Asia and Africa, on the desert road south of Gaza. The fifth Ptolemy, Epiphanes (204-181), was a child at the date of his accession, and Antiochus had become a great conqueror. In 202 he ventured once more into Palestine, but in 200 Scopas recovered it for Egypt. This was for the last time. In 198 Antiochus defeated Scopas at Paneas and took Ṣidon, Samaria, and other cities of Coelesyria. The Jews welcomed him with his elephants to Jerusalem, and helped him to besiege the Egyptian garrison in the Akra. Josephus produces certain alleged letters and a decree of Antiochus recounting the services of the Jews to himself, honouring their Temple and remitting much of their tribute.[1] Thus the Jews exchanged the sovereignty of the Greek Ptolemies for that of the Greek Seleucids. If it be true that they welcomed the latter, they were speedily disappointed. The Syrian taxes became heavier than those of Egypt had been, and the Syrian persecutions led to the destruction of the Temple in 168, and the subsequent wars for religious and political liberty.

4. Jerusalem and Judah under the Greeks.

During this period the territory which Jerusalem commanded was little larger than that which we traced

[1] Jos. xii. *Ant.* iii. 3 f.; see vol. i. 392 f. On the preceding events see, besides Josephus, Polybius v. 68 ff.; xvi. 18; xxviii. 1; Daniel xi. 10-19.

as Jewish under the Persians.[1] The northern frontier against the Samaritans was uncertain, but it crossed the watershed beyond Bethel.[2] Under Jonathan, Emmaus, Beth-ḥoron, Bethel and Timnath were in Judah;[3] but Aphairema, Lydda and Ramathaim were Samaritan *nomoi* or toparchies.[4] Probably all of these places had long been in debate between the Jews and the Samaritans.[5] On the west the border was probably the line between the Shephelah and the range of Judah.[6] The territory of the Philistine cities, now largely Phœnician and Hellenised, came inland as far as 'Eḳron and that outpost of the Shephelah, Gezer, some nineteen miles from Jerusalem.[7] Emmaus, the present 'Amwâs, nearly fifteen miles from Jerusalem, was in Judah. The southern border crossed the Judæan range between Beth-ṣûr and Hebron. The former, probably the modern Burj- or Beit-ṣûr, some fifteen miles south of Jerusalem and four north of Hebron, was Jewish;[8] Hebron and Mareshah, or Marissa, had been taken by the Idumeans, but the latter, on the highroad from the coast, became Hellenised.[9] On the east, Teḳoa' and its pastures were Jewish; but Engedi probably still went with Hebron, though Jonathan and Simon found a refuge close to

The Territory of Jerusalem.

[1] See above, pp. 354 ff.

[2] *H.G.H.L.* 252 ff.

[3] 1 Macc. ix. 50.

[4] *Id.* xi. 28, 34; xiii. *Ant.* iv. 9.

[5] In 'Amwâs (Emmaus) was found a bilingual inscription in Samaritan and Greek; Cl.-Ganneau, *Arch. Res.* i. 484; 'Zechariah' xiv. 10 gives the northmost Jewish town as Geba'.

[6] *H.G.H.L.* 205 f.

[7] With Tyre and Ṣidon, Ashḳelon, Gaza, 'Eḳron and Ashdod are mentioned in 'Zech.' ix. 2-5; their people are called Philistine; but *mamzer*, *mongrel* or *hybrid race* is the name given to the people of Ashdod. 'Eḳron became Jewish under Jonathan, 1 Macc. x. 88 f., Gezer under Simon, *id.* xiii. 43 ff.

[8] Neh. iii. 16; 1 Macc. iv. 28 ff. (Lysias invades Judah at Bethsura), 61.

[9] See below, p. 388; also *H.G.H.L.* 233.

it at the Pool of Asphar.[1] Jericho, and even the flanks of Ephraim to the north-west of Jericho, may also have become Idumean.[2] The territory of Jerusalem was thus confined to the hills, and within these covered only part of the ancient Judah, or not thirty miles north and south by little over twenty east and west.[3] To the Greek writers of the period it is Jerusalem and little else. They call Solomon 'king of Jerusalem';[4] the Jews 'those who dwell about the sanctuary called Hierosolyma';[5] Judæa 'the places round Hierosolyma.'[6] What a speck it must have seemed to the Greeks who had pushed their conquests as far as the Indus—what a speck, and how aloof!

[1] 1 Macc. ix. 33; probably Bir Selhub (Robinson, *B.R.* ii. 202), a little S.W. of Engedi, the hills round which still bear the name Sufra (I have suggested this identification in the *Enc. Bib.*, art. 'Asphar') rather than the cistern ez-Za'ferâneh (suggested by Buhl, *G.A.P.* 158), the letters of which name do not correspond to Asphar, while the site is too near the W. edge of the desert.

[2] In 1 Macc. v. 3 Judas is said to have *fought the children of Esau in Judah for Akrabattene, for they surrounded Israel.* If the reading in the Codices ℵ and V, of *Idumæa* for *Judæa*, be correct, then Akrabattene is the district about the ascent of 'Aḳrabbim (Num. xxxiv. 4, etc.), the steep approach from the 'Arabah, south of the Dead Sea, towards Hebron. But a separate campaign by Judas against the Idumeans *of the south* is recorded later, verses 65-68; and this first Idumean campaign of Judas is associated with another against the sons of Baean, from whom Judas *passed over* (? the Jordan) to 'Ammon and his campaigns in Gilead and Bashan (verses 4 ff.). There is therefore some reason for taking Akrabattene as the Judæan toparchy mentioned by Josephus (ii. *B.J.* xx. 4, xxii. 2; iii. *B.J.* iii. 4 f.; iv. *B.J.* ix. 3 f. 9), which lay next to, and probably S. and E. of, Gophna. This would explain the expression that the Idumeans *surrounded Israel.* So Ewald, and lately also Hölscher, *op. cit.* pp. 69 ff.

[3] A fragment attributed to Hecatæus (see p. 384 *n.* 1) states its extent at three millions of *arourae* (Egyptian acres), about two millions forty thousand English acres.

[4] Dios and Menander (of Ephesus) about 275, quoted in *C. Apion.* i. 17 f.; Manetho (in the same century) hardly speaks of Jewish territory beyond Jerusalem, *C. Apion.* i. 26 ff.

[5] Polybius xvi. 39, in Jos. xii. *Ant.* iii. 3.

[6] Diod. Sic. xxxiv. 1, 2.

Under the mild rule of the Ptolemies, and until Antiochus III. began his invasions of Palestine,[1] Jerusalem enjoyed an unbroken peace. The country was properly cultivated, commerce was secure, and in the management of the national tribute the ruling families had opportunities of finance which augmented the wealth of the City.[2] Ptolemy II. is said to have restored the 120,000 Jews whom his father deported to Egypt.[3] There must have been a considerable increase of the vigorous and fertile population and of their various energies; for we shall see that large emigrations became possible. The dominant features of the national life continued to be the Temple and its worship. The Ptolemies did not interfere with these, but, on the contrary, if later stories be true, they encouraged and fostered them.[4] For all this prosperity we have evidence both from the beginning and the end of the period. The earliest Greek writer who has accurate information about the Jews, Hecatæus of Abdera, about 300 B.C., affirms their fertility, and details their wise and vigorous organisation.[5] Another writing of the period, also ascribed to Hecatæus and at least using his materials, enlarges upon the agriculture of Judah and the strength of Jerusalem. It gives a description of the City with a population, it says, of 120,000, a possible but hardly a probable

Prosperity of the Jews under the Ptolemies.

Evidence from Hecatæus, *c.* 300.

[1] See above, p. 380; cf. Jos. xii. *Ant.* iii. 3.

[2] Vol. i. 368; Jos. xii. *Ant.* iv.

[3] Jos. xii. *Ant.* ii. 1; *C. Apion.* i. 22.

[4] For a list of such stories see below, p. 392 *n.* 3.

[5] Ἀεὶ τὸ γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπῆρχε πολυάνθρωπον. On what he says of the number, the revenues and the political influence of the priests, and the absolute supremacy of the High-Priest, see vol. i. 389 f.

figure; of the Temple *enceinte* with double cloisters; of the Altar of Burnt-offering; and of the Sanctuary with the Golden Altar and Lamp, but 'no image nor anything planted, neither groves nor anything of that kind.'[1]

and from Ben Sira.

By the end of the period the evidence is more lavish and emphatic;[2] but that furnished by Jesus Ben Sira is of itself sufficient for our purpose. Throughout, Ben Sira's book reflects a quiet and a prosperous community with a developed civilisation. The land is secure and settled. A hedge is enough for the defence of property. If a man is homeless he is suspect — *who will trust a man that hath no nest and lodgeth wherever he findeth himself at nightfall?*[3] Agriculture is unharassed: *he that tilleth his land shall raise high his heap.*[4] *Great travail is created for every man and a heavy yoke is on the sons of Adam.* Fears, strifes and disappointments await them; but *all bribery and injustice shall be*

Security and Comfort of Life in Judah.

[1] It is by no means certain that this evidence is not from Hecatæus of Abdera himself. The latter wrote a history of Egypt, from which the first fragment quoted above has been preserved in Diodorus Siculus, xl. 3. Two other works circulated under his name concerning the Jews, and concerning Abraham. The latter, cited by Jos. i. *Ant.* vii. 2 and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, is not genuine. But that on the Jews, used by Josephus in *C. Apion.* i. 22, from which this second piece of evidence given above is taken, may quite well be genuine. All fragments ascribed to Hecatæus are given by Müller, *Frag. Histor. Graec.* ii. 384-96. Reinach gives the fragment through Diodorus alone to Hecatæus (*Textes . . . relatifs au Judaïsme*, 14 ff.), the rest under Pseudo-Hecatæus (227 ff.). On the whole question see Schürer, *Gesch.*(3) ii. § 33, and Schlatter's note, *Gesch.* 31, 318.

[2] Particularly so if we take the date of the Letter of Aristeas as about 200: see next chapter.

[3] xxxvi. 25 f.

[4] xx. 28: there are several references to agriculture, *e.g.* xxxiii. 16; xxxviii. 25.

blotted out and good faith shall stand for ever. The life of one that laboureth and is content shall be made sweet.

Children and the building of a city establish a name,
And a blameless wife is reckoned above both.
Wine and music rejoice the heart,
And the love of wisdom is above both.
The pipe and the psaltery make pleasant melody,
And a pleasant tongue is above both.
Thine eye shall desire grace and beauty,
But above both the green blade of corn.
Gold and silver will make the foot stand sure,
And counsel is esteemed above them both.
Riches and inheritance will lift up the heart,
And the fear of the Lord is above both.[1]

Zechariah's promise of a full population and a secure old age[2] has at last come to pass. Ben Sira dwells on the beauty of the aged and their wisdom: *as the lamp that shineth on the holy candlestick, so is the beauty of the face in ripe age.*[3] Jerusalem is a large and a carefully organised City. The Book reflects crowds; professions and industries; a wide commerce; assemblies and courts; rumour, intrigue, slander, mob-law and demagogues; the sins of harlotry and drunkenness. There are temptations on the one hand to depression in the crowd—*say not I am hidden from the Lord . . . I am not known among so many people*—and on the other to the dissipation of one's energies among manifold interests—*winnow not with every wind, nor walk in every path.*[4] No detail of the topography of the City is given; but those who have built and fortified are remembered with their works.[5] We hear of one great builder

Size and Business of Jerusalem.

[1] xl. 1-26.

[2] See above, pp. 304, 314.

[3] xviii. 9; xxv. 3 ff.; xxvi. 17; cf. xlii. 8, etc.

[4] xvi. 17; v. 9; for the rest of the above see especially iii.-v., vii., ix., xxiii., xxv. ff., xxxviii.

[5] xlvii. 13; xlviii. 17; xlix. 12 f.; l. 1 ff.

within the period itself: Simon, son of Johanan (Onias) —either Simon I., son of Johanan I., about 310-290, or Simon II., son of Johanan II., about 218-198[1]—*who repaired the House and fortified the Temple*, building reservoirs and *lofty substructures* for the sacred platform; *who took thought for his people against the spoiler, and strengthened the City against siege.*[2] As significant are the references to its *pavements* and *battlements*; *the timber girt and bound into a building which cannot be shaken* and the *ornaments of plaster on a polished wall*, which are used as illustrations by the writer.[3] There is no talk of breaches, of dilapidation or of the need of rebuilding; the City is compact, embellished, secure. All the developments of ritual, all the sacred studies and literary habits which we have traced through the Persian period, continued in Jerusalem under the Ptolemies. Ben Sira describes the glory of the national worship, when Simon came forth before the priests and the congregation, and *the sons of Aaron sounded the trumpets of beaten work and made a great noise, to be heard for a remembrance before the Most High, while the people together hasted and fell down on their faces to worship their Lord, the Almighty God Most High; the singers also praised Him with their voices, in the whole House was there made sweet melody.*[4] But, as we have seen, it is the growing influence of the Scribes to which Ben Sira chiefly bears witness. By 250[5]—when also the Law was translated into Greek—

Fortification of the City and Temple.

Glory of the Worship.

[1] On the evidence which leaves us in doubt see Toy, *Enc. Bibl.* 1170 f. He inclines to Simon II., but there is much to be said for the other.

[2] l. 4 (see vol. i. 391 *n.* 3); the text is uncertain, but the above data are clear.

[3] xx. 18; ix. 13; xxii 16; cf. xxi. 8; xxvii. 2; xxxiv. 23, etc.

[4] l. 5-21; cf. vii. 29 ff. on duties to the priests.

[5] Or 200.

they had completed and closed the canon of the Prophets,[1] but were busy too with *the wisdom of all the ancients, the hidden meanings of proverbs, the dark sayings of parables*.[2] No profession stood higher in repute, was more open to able youths of all ranks in the community, or was fitted to exert greater influence in both of the directions between which the life of the Jews was about to divide. For by their primary studies and their judicial work, the Scribes preserved the national law and tradition, upholding the Fence within which Israel lived distinct and secure from other peoples. But by their pursuit of a wider wisdom, and by the questions which this encountered, they prepared the habits of inquiry and more liberal sympathies of the mind, for which Hellenism provided so much opportunity and material.

The Scribes—their double influence on the National Mind.

For we must next note that on nearly all sides this tiny territory and this active life of the Jews were surrounded by rapidly increasing centres of Greek culture. Even before Alexander's time the influence of Greece had begun to work upon the coast; under the Persians the coins of Gaza were already of the Athenian type and standard.[3] All the maritime towns save Tyre and Gaza appear

Establishment of numerous Greek Communities round Judah.

[1] That is both the former prophets, Joshua—2 Kings; and the latter—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Book of the Twelve.

[2] See above, p. 365.

[3] Head, *Hist. Num.* 680 (after Six, *Num. Chron.*, 1877, 221), states that its coinage in the fifth and fourth centuries was of Attic weight and various types, and describes a type of silver drachm with Janiform diademed heads, or head of Pallas, 'sometimes closely imitated from Athenian coins even with letters AΘE,' and on reverse עזה in Phœnician letters; Macdonald, *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, iii. 282, a silver drachm 'of Euboic-Attic standard . . . borrowed directly from Athenian models,' Pl. LXXVII. 30

to have welcomed Alexander and accepted his policy.[1] Their younger nobles, taking Greek names, enlisted among his officers. In the following century their polity, customs and religion were largely Hellenised. Their gods assumed the names and borrowed the attributes of those of Greece; Greek legends received new scenery from their neighbourhoods.[2] As Tyre obtained a fresh population from Alexander, so did Gaza either on its old or on a new site.[3] Ashdod had a mixed population.[4] The foreign influence came inland as far as 'Ekron and Gezer. Further south, in Idumean territory at Mareshah or Marissa, a Sidonian colony with considerable Greek culture was settled before 190.[5] On the north 'Akko had become Ptolemais as early as the second Ptolemy.[6] From this, the nearest good harbour on the Syrian coast, it was more than three hundred miles oversea to Alexandria, about one hundred and fifty to Cyprus, and two long days' march inland to Samaria, which, as we have seen, was occupied by Macedonians and by the central Greek authority of the land. Beth-shan, less than two days from Ptolemais across Esdraelon, was also settled by the Greeks under the name of Nysa. Besides these ancient towns, Alexander, the Ptolemies, Seleucus and his successors built upon sites hitherto unoccupied, save by villages, a considerable number of new towns

[1] The replacement of the Persic standard by the Euboic-Attic appears to have taken place in the coinage of all the Phœnician and other coast towns immediately after Alexander's conquests. See Head, 665 ff.; Macdonald, iii. 225 ff.; 249 f. 263.

[2] See Stark's *Gaza u. die Philist. Küste.*

[3] *H.G.H.L.* 184 ff.

[4] Zech. ix. 6. See above, p. 381 *n.* 7.

[5] So recent discoveries have made clear; see Peters and Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa*, P.E.F., 1905.

[6] See the present writer's art. 'Ptolemais' in the *Enc. Bibl.*

mostly Greek in their population, and wholly so in their constitution and culture.[1] Among those nearest to Judah were Anthedon, a harbour near Gaza;[2] Apollonia, north of Joppa, the present Arsûf; inland, Patras and Arethusa;[3] a number of small 'cities' on the coast by Carmel,[4] including 'Sykaminōn Polis,' which is Haifa; and Philoteria on the Lake of Galilee. On the latter also was the Greek settlement of Taricheae,[5] but industrial, not political. East of the Jordan were Pella, Dion, Gerasa, and Philadelphia, the ancient Rabbath-'Ammon—all of them almost within sight of the Mount of Olives, and not three days off—besides the smaller Greek settlements in Moab. With some or all of these places the people of Jerusalem had to trade; to sell them oil, and to buy wheat, metals and pottery through their markets.[6] Their coins were the only ones Jews could use. Their language was becoming in Palestine as common as Aramaic; yet we must not suppose that it was mastered by many of the Jews of Judah. Josephus asserts the contrary.[7]

[1] On the question which of the above-named monarchs was the greatest builder see Hölscher, *op. cit.* 58 ff. He decides for Seleucus, but not on grounds that are certain. Besides his section on the subject and the authorities quoted above, see Schürer, *Gesch.*(3) ii. (Eng. trans. div. ii. vol. i.).

[2] The name still survives as Tedûn over some ruins on the coast, a little N.W. from Gaza. See below, p. 482.

[3] Sites uncertain; Schlatter, pp. 10 f. *n.* 1, suggests Kh. Badras, near Lydda, and Artâs at Solomon's Pools.

[4] For the full list see Hölscher, *op. cit.* 66.

[5] The date of the settlement is unknown; Taricheae first appears in the time of Josephus, but there must have been large fish-curing establishments (the name means this) on the lake in the time of our Lord. See vol. i. p. 318.

[6] See vol. i. Bk. II. ch. v.

[7] xx. *Ant.* xi. 2.

5. The New Jewish Diaspora.

The New and Voluntary Dispersion of the Jews.

But the rumour of these Greek and Græcised towns around them spoke loudly to the Jews of the greater Greek world beyond, and tempted them forth to it by manifold voices of promise and sympathy. Hitherto exile had been a horrible thing to Israel,[1] the compulsory migration of their families to remote lands, the ways to which they trod blinded by tears and with no hope in their hearts; for it is singular how in all their copious literature of exile none of them has traced the stages by which they were carried away. The desperate feeling with which Jews had universally regarded their banishment has been expressed by Jeremiah in some lines on the removal of Jehoahaz into Egypt:—[2]

Weep ye not for the dead
Nor bemoan him,
But weeping weep for him that goeth away;
He turneth not again
Nor seeth the land of his birth.

But now to Jewish eyes the paths out into the world ran shining. Jews went into exile of their own will; there was a new and an eager Diaspora. From Gaza by the desert road to Pelusium; from Joppa and Ptolemais oversea to Alexandria; or northward by earlier Jewish settlements and a train of Greek stations to Antioch, they swarmed into the new world intent and expectant.

[1] The last certain captivity of the Jews till the fall of Jerusalem before the Romans was that by Ptolemy I. (above, p. 376). The statement of Josephus that Antiochus III. deported two thousand Jewish families to Lydia and Phrygia is possible but doubtful (xii. *Ant.* iii. 4). Cf. Willrich, 39 f.

[2] Jer. xxii. 10 ff.

The old fears were lifted. Tobias the traveller had an angel for his guide.[1] With the lines of Jeremiah just quoted we may contrast those of Ben Sira :—

> *He that hath no experience knoweth few things,*
> *But he that hath wandered shall increase skill.*
> *In my wandering I have seen many things,*
> *And more than my words is my understanding.*
> *Ofttimes was I in danger even unto death;*
> *And I was preserved because of these things.*[2]

When we seek for the attractions to this new Dispersion of the Jews, we find them to be numerous and of a mixed character. First, there were the opportunities we have noted of military service and of political and financial usefulness to the new lords of the world. Though it may be impossible to credit all the stories of this which Josephus has provided,[3] it is clear that even more brilliant fortunes awaited some Jews under the Greeks than had fallen to the Jewish favourites of the Persian court. Greek rulers, and especially the earlier Ptolemies, appreciated the abilities of Jews and their practical knowledge of Eastern life, advanced some of them to high rank in their service, and employed many others in humbler positions. Second, there was the hunger for lands more fertile than their own, of which the inhabitants of Judah were constantly hearing from their brethren in Egypt[4] and elsewhere. To this we may attribute some of the Jewish settlements in Samaria, Galilee, Gilead and Bashan, their ancient claims to which Israel

Attractions to it :—1. Military and Political Employment.

2. Hunger for more fertile Lands.

[1] Book of Tobit.

[2] Ecclesiasticus xxxiv. 10 ff.

[3] See below, p. 392 *n.* 3.

[4] Jos. xii. *Ant.* i. : 'Jews, who of their own accord went into Egypt, invited by the goodness of the land.'

had never relinquished,[1] which were very fruitful, and in which the Ptolemaic sovereignty of Palestine could provide for them openings that had not existed for centuries. Third, and principally, there were the opportunities of commerce which were few in Judah, but in Egypt and elsewhere exceedingly abundant. Alexandria rapidly grew as a centre of trade under Ptolemy II., and by his measures for the development of commerce on the Red Sea;[2] the land of Goshen, where numbers of Jews were settled, occupied a favourable intermediary position; Cyrene began to flourish on the coast west of Alexandria. Fourth, there were the facilities granted to the Jews for settling in the larger Greek cities. Josephus states that Alexander himself, as a reward for their assistance against the Egyptians, gave to the Jews equal rights with the Greeks in Alexandria, while his successors assigned to them a special quarter in the city and the further privilege 'that they should be called Macedonians.' In this the truth seems to be that the Jews became clients of the Macedonian 'Phyle' in Alexandria, and that their special quarter of the city formed part of it.[3] In Cyrene,

3. Opportunities of Commerce.

4. Facilities for Residence and Rights of Citizenship.

[1] 'Micah' vii. 14, a prophecy of uncertain date; Psalm lx. 6 ff. (Eng. = Heb. 8 ff.).

[2] See art. 'Trade and Commerce,' *Enc. Bibl.* § 63.

[3] Guthe, *Enc. Bibl.* 1109, where it is argued (against Willrich) that the Jews must have received these privileges under the earlier Ptolemies and before the second century. The favour of Alexander and the earlier Ptolemies to the Jews is emphasised and detailed by Josephus as follows:—ii. *B.J.* xviii. 7, Alexander gave the Jews equal privileges with the Greeks in Alexandria (cf. *C. Apion.* ii. 4), and his successors granted the special quarter of the city and the right to be called Macedonians; xii. *Ant.* i., Ptolemy I., after his deportation of Jews to Egypt, attracted others by his liberality, gave them equal rights with the Macedonians, and according to *C. Apion.* ii. 4 (after Hecatæus) entrusted them with Egyptian fortresses and settled some at Cyrene; xii. *Ant.* ii., Ptolemy II. released the captives of his father, sent an embassy with presents to the High-priest, and brought to Alexandria the

says Strabo,[1] the Jews formed a fourth class of the population beside the citizens, the peasants and the *metoikoi*; while in their quarter in Alexandria they lived under an ethnarch of their own who had powers as absolute as the ruler of an independent state. The Seleucids, it is said, were equally forward to favour the Jews. Josephus states that Seleucus I. himself granted them the rights of citizenship in all the cities of his foundation in Asia and the Lower Syria, including Antioch.[2] The statement has been denied, but we can understand how even Seleucus, with his claims upon Palestine, would be eager to outbid his Egyptian rivals, who possessed it, by the promise, at least, of civic rights to its natives who had settled in his domains; and we know that by the following century his successors had granted all the above privileges.[3] The enjoyment of these must have led to a great increase among the Jews of political experience and capacity. But, fifthly, we have to appreciate the general freedom and exhilaration of life in the Greek cities of the East as a powerful temptation to the Jew to leave his somewhat sombre fatherland.

5. Freedom and Exhilaration of Greek Life.

scribes who translated the Scriptures into Greek (cf. Letter of Aristeas and *C. Apion.* ii. 4); xii. *Ant.* iv. 2 ff., the story of Joseph, son of Tobias, and his management of the Syrian finances of Ptolemy, and *C. Apion.* ii. 5, Ptolemy III. offered sacrifices to God in Jerusalem; xiii. *Ant.* iii., Ptolemy VI., a friend of the Jews, let Onias build a temple at Leontopolis, decided against the Samaritans in favour of the Temple at Jerusalem, and according to *C. Apion.* ii. 5, 'entrusted his whole kingdom to Jews' by making two of them his chief generals. Ptolemy VII. (Euergetes II.) was hostile to the Jews who had supported his brother Philometor, but even he in later years is known from papyri to have favoured them (Willrich, 142 ff.).

[1] In a fragment of his Τπομνήματα Ἱστορικά preserved by Josephus, xiv. *Ant.* vii. 2 (Müller, *Frag. Histor. Graec.* iii. 492). It is doubtful if he is giving the state of affairs in his own day or drawing on more ancient sources.

[2] xii. *Ant.* iii. 1; *C. Apion.* ii. 4.

[3] Cf. Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 180 ff., 255 ff., 321.

Life in Judah was starved of the political excitement, the artistic feeling, the sheer physical enjoyment of which the Greek communities were full. The heathen world broke upon the shores of Judah no longer, as Isaiah heard it, with the wrathful crash of the stormy sea upon the harbourless coast of Palestine, but with the music of freedom, adventure, wealth and a liberal and boundless happiness.

Such, then, were the more obvious attractions which created the increase of the Jewish Diaspora, of its occupation in the commerce and politics of the world, and of its engagement in other foreign interests. We have many proofs of the results. Before the end of the period Jewish communities were established in the Greek cities of Egypt and Syria, by then or the beginning of the next period in some of Cilicia and the rest of Asia Minor. Strabo says: 'These Jews have penetrated to every city, and it would not be easy to find a single place in the inhabited world which has not received this race, and where it has not become master.' [1]

Proofs of the Results.

We have no exact evidence as to the numbers of the Dispersion, but by 200 B.C. they must have risen to hundreds of thousands, for in the time of Philo the Jews in Egypt alone amounted to a million,[2] and on a temperate reckoning from this datum there were from three to four millions throughout the Roman world.[3] Egyptians and Greeks rapidly became jealous of the Jews. The later Greek charge against them, that they had produced no useful invention, is an unmistakable sign of bitterness at

The large Numbers of the Diaspora.

[1] In Jos. xiv. *Ant.* vii. 2; see above, p. 393 *n.* 1.
[2] *In Flacc.* 6.
[3] Guthe, *Enc. Bibl.* 1112.

their commercial successes.[1] The Book of Tobit (about 150) illustrates easy habits of travel, a wide acquaintance with foreign lands, and a liberal adoption of their legends and folklore. The assumption of Greek names instead of or along with their own was a common practice with the Jews of the time; and it was accompanied by a lavish borrowing of characteristic Greek customs in social life and military and athletic exercises. But above all, the Jewish Diaspora added another language to their own. As their fathers of the Babylonian captivity had accepted Aramean, the *lingua franca* of the time, so these new exiles accepted and employed Greek. Not only did they use it in commerce and society, but for the purposes of religion. The translation of the Law, the first five books of the Old Testament, into Greek, can hardly be later than 250. It is in the colloquial dialect of Alexandria and Lower Egypt; the rest of the Septuagint which was later shows other and wider influences.[2] The dispersed Jews learned to pray, to preach, and to argue in Greek. Of all this Hellenism there was a considerable reflection on Jerusalem herself. There, too, Greek names for Jews were common before the Maccabean period; and we have seen the inestimable advantages which Ben Sira imputes to travel, the openings to commerce, the distractions and dissipations which he describes in the life of the City. Some of the new social fashions of which he approves were borrowed from the Greeks;[3] and for the fact that

Their Adoption of the Greek Language.

[1] See vol. i. 372 f. on Apollonius of Rhodes.

[2] On the Greek of the Septuagint see the chapter under that title (pp. 289-314) in Swete's *Introd. to the O. T. in Greek*, with the literature there cited.

[3] *E.g.* xxxii. 1-4.

these had invaded Jerusalem we have other proofs. The institution of a Gymnasium, with all that it meant of mental intercourse as well as physical exercise,[1] was one of the causes of the final revolt against foreign influence. When we consider these things, and the associations of the fiscal and political officials in Jerusalem with the Greek courts, we see that the statement of Josephus that but one or two Jews spoke Greek must be received with a great qualification.[2]

The new world-wide Influence of Jerusalem.

But the Jews of this Dispersion, so widely scattered and for the most part so thoroughly Hellenised, were not therefore cut off from Jerusalem, nor did they forget her. With all their absorption in commerce, with all their religious privileges in their local synagogues and the Greek translation of the Scriptures, with all their duties to the self-government granted to their communities, their devotion to the Holy City and their loyalty to the Temple remained undiminished. Exile only enhanced the fervour with which Jerusalem was regarded; the pressure of the heathen world but confirmed the discipline of which she was the mistress. Just as we saw that the Babylonian Captivity led to the exaltation of the City above the sordid realities of her history to an idealism richer than any prophet had dared for her before; so, through the Greek dispersion, Jerusalem was raised to an even rarer sacredness and endowed with a far wider empire of the spirit. Things now came true which were then only seen in vision. The Isles were strewn with them *that waited for her; the ships of Tarshish brought her sons from afar their silver and their gold with them, for the Name of the*

[1] See below, pp. 405 f.

[2] xx. *Ant.* xi. 2.

Lord her God and for the Holy One of Israel, because He had glorified her. Sacrifice for the whole nation was accomplished only in her courts, and the nation was world-wide. The most distant Jew knew that prayer was being offered for him there and atonement made for his sins.[1] When he himself prayed he turned to Jerusalem.[2] Every year he sent his half-shekel for the support of the national worship; and the sums were collected and forwarded from every province by a careful administration.[3] When it was possible he went on pilgrimage to her festivals. We cannot suppose that as yet the pilgrims came up to Ṣion in the vast numbers which Josephus records for the Roman period.[4] But the streams which ran annually to the Temple along every great road of the world must already have been considerable. Of their own will they had gone forth, and instinctively they flew home again—*like doves to their windows.* They brought to their Mother their questions of law and life, and took back her answers as binding; they also took back upon their hearts her fresh sorrows and needs. There was nothing else like this in the ancient world, and all modern instances of so wide a spiritual empire are only its imitations.

[1] 2 Macc. 1, 6, etc.

[2] Daniel vi. 10.

[3] Philo, *de Mon.* ii. 3; Josephus, xviii. *Ant.* ix. 1. In xiv. *Ant.* vii. 2 Josephus quotes from Strabo's *Hypomnemata* that the Jews (of Asia Minor) had deposited 800 talents, about £292,000, in Cos, and explains this large sum as the Temple tribute. Reinach, however, argues that it was the private money of the Jews of Alexandria and Leontopolis, who had sent it to Cos to escape confiscation by Ptolemy Lathyrus (*Textes*, etc., 91 *n.* 2).

[4] Under Cestius Gallus (63-66 A.D.) he says a census was taken of those at a Passover, and the number was 2,700,200; vi. *B.J.* ix. 3.

6. Spiritual Intercourse of Jews and Greeks.

If the intercourse and exchanges of the two races were so intimate upon all the outer and lower levels of life which we have surveyed in the last section, they could not possibly have been confined to these. On both sides were eager and earnest minds working not merely in the strength of their individual curiosity or interests, but with the pressure behind of ancient and vast heritages of thought. How far did they enter and convince each other's souls? In this sphere the facts are naturally less capable of exact appreciation than in those we have surveyed. But we may at least assume the following.

Possibilities of such an Intercourse.

On the one side there was Israel's heritage of a mission to the whole world. The Jews of the new Dispersion could not have trodden those roads or sailed those seas, upon which the prophets of three centuries back had foreseen Israel carrying the knowledge of God to the heathen, without some sense of their obligation to this duty, and some endeavours to fulfil it. Of the missionary conscience there is something in Ben Sira. With his knowledge of the world beyond and of its advantages to the mind of the Jew, his ethical ideals and interests are not as limited to Israel as we have seen those of Deuteronomy to be.[1] He has a wider conception of Providence than the Deuteronomists,[2] and speaks as they do not of mankind in general.[3] The Divine Wisdom which he adores *covers the earth as a mist, she has got a possession in every people and nation*;[4] but not even does this sense of a

Israel's Heritage of a Mission to the Gentiles.

[1] Above, p. 214. [2] i. 10; xvii. 17; xxiv. 6. [3] xvii. 1. [4] xxiv. 3, 6.

favourable atmosphere for her in the world outside rouse within him a very great hope of carrying to the latter[1] her full and articulate authority which he affirms to have been established in Ṣion.[2] So little feeling of missionary hopes and duties on the part of a writer who was both familiar with the world and convinced of the unique and priceless wisdom of his own religion is very striking. But that was not the only temper with which the prophetic ideals of Israel had to contend in Jerusalem. Among untravelled Jews, nursed in the religious pride and natural hopes of vengeance, which centuries of instruction in their Law and of oppression by foreign peoples had produced, there grew a bitter and relentless hostility to the idea of the conversion of the heathen and their participation in the covenant mercies of Israel. The Book of Jonah, which may be earlier than the Greek period,[3] was written in order to expose the folly of this jealousy and to declare that God had permitted repentance even to the Gentiles. If the Book of Tobit belongs to the end of this period, we may point in addition to these lines of Tobit's *Prayer for Rejoicing*:—

> *I, in the land of my captivity, give Him thanks,*
> *And shew His strength and majesty to a nation of sinners.*
> *Turn, ye sinners, and do righteousness before Him:*
> *Who can tell if He will accept you and have mercy upon you? . . .*
> *Let all men speak, and let them give Him thanks in Jerusalem . . .*
> *Many nations shall come from afar to the Name of the Lord God*
> *With gifts in their hands, even gifts to the King of Heaven.*[4]

[1] But see xxxvi. 1-17. [2] xxiv. 1-12.

[3] For the question arises whether in the Greek period a Jewish writer would have sent his fugitive prophet a voyage on the western sea in order to escape from the God of Israel.

[4] Tobit, xiii. 6, 8, 11.

We cannot tell whether such expressions were exceptional in our period. That many prayed for the conversion of the heathen is certain. We may also assume that some took advantage of their close intercourse with the Greeks in politics and in commerce not only to explain the resemblances between their principles and those of Greek philosophers, which we saw to be a habit with some Jews, but to urge upon Greek individuals and families the benefits of a full conversion to the Jewish faith and practice. All that we know is that there was a great zeal for making proselytes among the Pharisees of our Lord's time,[1] and a large number of Gentile believers by that date throughout the Greek world. We can hardly refuse to our period the beginnings of such missionary zeal.

Attitude of the Greeks to the Jewish Religion.

On the other side, we have seen a readiness in some Greeks to inquire into the principles of the Jewish religion, and a recognition at least of their distinction and their value. The first Greeks who wrote about the Jews were impressed by the absorption of the nation in its religious exercises. They emphasised the absence of images and other sensuous objects of worship from the Temple.[2] Just as the Jews of the time had discovered that the Divine Wisdom was also found among other nations, brooding upon them like a mist, to use Ben Sira's figure; so the Greeks recognised a philosophy among the Jews, so characteristic of their life, that they appeared to be little or nothing but philosophers. As to this there is a remarkable unanimity among the first Greek writers about

[1] Matt. xxiii. 15.

[2] See on Hecatæus, vol. i. 389 f., and vol. ii. 383 f.

the Jews; they call them a 'race of philosophers.'[1] Their testimony is the more striking by its contrast to that of the Egyptian priest Manetho of the third century before Christ, whose bitter account of the Jews—as originally a race of vile shepherds, lepers and other outcasts, who defiled the images of gods and turned their sanctuaries into kitchens where they roasted the animals, deemed by Egyptians to be sacred[2]—reads like an intentional answer to the favourable Greek opinions.[3] The singular difference of Judaism from the other cults of Western Asia must have been as obvious to the intelligent Greek as to the European of to-day is the difference of the Mohammedan or the Sikh from the Hindoos who still worship a multitude of gods; while in the religion of the Greek there was far less to restrain him from sympathising with this Asiatic sect than the Christian European is conscious of in those other monotheists. And as we have seen, the Jews of the Dispersion, from various motives high and low, were eager to explain the spiritual affinities between their religion and the philosophy of the Greeks. Nor, of course, had the Greeks those prejudices against animal sacrifice which provoked the Egyptian Manetho to write

[1] Besides Hecatæus of Abdera (who, at least, emphasises the wise principles of Jewish government) and Clearchus of Soli, quoted above, the term philosophers is applied to the Jews by Theophrastus (quoted by Porphyry *de Abstinentia*, ii. 26; Reinach, *Textes . . . relatifs au Judaïsme*, 7 f.); Megasthenes (quoted by Clem. Alex., *Strom.* i. 15; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ii. 437), who (cf. Clearchus) compares them with the Brahmans of India; Hermippus of Smyrna (quoted by Josephus, *C. Apion.* i. 22, and Origen, *C. Celsum*, i. 15; Müller, iii. 36, 41). Theophrastus and Megasthenes wrote about 300 B.C., Hermippus sixty or seventy years later.

[2] Quoted by Josephus, *C. Apion.* i. 14 f., 26 f.; Müller, ii. 580; Reinach, 33.

[3] According to Josephus, *C. Apion.* i. 14, Manetho accused Herodotus of having been led into falsehood by his ignorance of the history of Egypt.

with such disgust of the Jewish ritual. Yet when they were confronted with the question of their adoption into the Jewish system, the Greeks, and especially the men among them, had some reason to draw back. For there were, as we shall see, other rites and institutions of the Jewish system which, to the Greek mind, were repulsive or ridiculous: the Sabbath, circumcision, and the narrow nationalism with which faith in one only God was so paradoxically identified. In spite of these difficulties, however, the Jewish propaganda made some way among the Greeks. There were, of course, the same unworthy motives at work, as the Book of Esther exposes among the Persians.[1] In certain cities fear of the political influence of the Jews, and, among Hellenised Orientals at least, an ambition to share in their civil status would be strong. But doubtless higher motives also operated upon Greek individuals and families of all ranks. The decay of their own popular faiths, the example of the many pure and constant lives among the Jews, the reading of the Torah in Greek, and still more, as time went on, of the Prophets and the Psalmists, cannot have failed to tell upon religious minds; and numerous conversions are more probable than the literature of the time allows us to see. Those who write books do not always notice such movements.

Even more difficult to appreciate, not because it was less real, but because it worked in ways less definite, was the influence of the Greek mind upon the mind

[1] Esther viii. 17: the Talmud speaks of 'Esther' proselytes as well as of 'lion' and other self-interested proselytes, 'Yeb.' 24*b*, Ḥull. 36; cf. Levy, *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, i. 353.

of Israel. Yet not only may we assume great results from this for reasons already described, but there are many detailed symptoms and in the general tempers of Jewish literature more than one change, in which we may confidently trace its operation.

Intellectual Influence of the Greeks on the Jews.

To begin with, the Greek arts were conspicuous and attractive. The Jew loved and practised Music both in his worship and for secular purposes;[1] he must have learned much from its developments in Egypt and Mesopotamia. But the Greeks also had something to teach him. It is significant that some of the earliest Greek words in Jewish literature are musical;[2] and in Ben Sira there is an unusual emphasis on music for its own sake, which has reasonably been traced to Greek influence.

The Greek Arts: 1. Music.

Speak, thou that art the elder, for it becometh thee, with sound knowledge,
And hinder not music.
Pour not out talk where there is a performance of music,
And display not thy wisdom out of season.
A signet of carbuncle in a setting of gold
Is a concert of music in a banquet of wine.
A signet of emerald in a work of gold
Is a strain of music with pleasant wine.[3]

The practical benefits of Architecture and Medicine were too obvious to be resisted; in the former the Greek was expert far beyond the Jew. It is the next period which

[1] On the development of music in worship see above, p. 353; on secular music, cf. Isa. xxiii. 15 ff.; Canticles, etc.

Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15 (Aramaic), the instruments קִיתָרוֹס or קַתְרוֹס, *κίθαρις*; פְּסַנְתֵּרִין, *ψαλτήριον*; סוּמְפֹּנְיָה, *συμφωνία* or (as in 10) סִיפֹּנְיָא, *σιφώνια* (?); שַׂבְּכָא or סַבְּכָא, *σαμβύκη*, seems rather of Syrian or Egyptian origin.

[2] Ecclesiasticus xxxii. 3-6.

yields the first undoubted examples of Greek style and ornament in the construction of buildings in Jerusalem,[1] and in his metaphors derived from building Ben Sira does not go beyond the styles usual among the Semites.[2] But from the remains of the palace of Hyrkanus at 'Arâḳ el-Emîr,[3] it is probable that Simon and other builders of this period were already borrowing from Greek architects. As to Medicine we have more certain evidence. Ben Sira's advice to the people of Jerusalem to honour the Physician and to use his skill in their need of it, and his emphasis on the Divine origin of the art and the high place of the profession among great men, read like an argument against objections to the introduction of a foreign practice. In that age religious men had no objections to medicine in itself; many remedies were already practised among the people, and there was apparently a body of healers or physicians.[4] But on the part of the orthodox a strong feeling existed against physicians who did not associate their healing with the ceremonies enjoined by the Law; and it is clear that the priests were regarded as experts in medicine.[5] Greek physicians were probably the first in Jewish experience who used no religious formulæ in their art;[6] and it is such rational

2. Architecture.

3. Medicine.

[1] See vol. i. 217.

[2] The mingled courses of wood and stone, see above, pp. 67, 69, 386.

[3] See below, pp. 425 ff.

[4] Jer. viii. 22; 2 Chron. xvi. 12; Isai. i. 6, xxxviii. 21; cf. the frequent use of the term *to heal* in metaphor. See, too, Ex. xxi. 19; 2 Kings iv. 19 ff., v. 1 ff.; Isai. iii. 7.

[5] See the various Levitical laws on leprosy, with the implication that the priests could distinguish the various kinds of it; cf. 2 Chron. xvi. 12.

[6] Oriental healers almost invariably do so; cf. for Babylonia Johns, *Assyr. Deeds and Documents*, 63; Jastrow, *Relig. of Bab. and Assyr.*, 269 ff.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*(2) § 38. Among the other sons of the East against whom the prophets warn Israel there were doubtless many exorcisers.

healers whom Ben Sira commends to his fellow citizens, when they fall ill, along with the use of their own religious forms.

> *Honour a physician according to thy need,*[1] *with the honours due to him,*
> *For verily the Lord hath created him,*
> *For from the Most High cometh healing,*
> *And from the King shall he receive a gift.*
> *The skill of the physician shall lift up his head,*
> *And in the sight of great men shall he be admired.*
> *The Lord created medicines out of the earth,*
> *And a prudent man will have no disgust at them.*

This is apparently an answer to objections against remedies not sanctioned by religion, and therefore 'unclean.' Ben Sira goes on to counsel his fellow Jews not to be negligent in sickness of the appointed religious means: prayer, repentance and offerings. But when these are performed,

> *Then give place to the physician, for verily the Lord hath created him;*
> *And let him not go from thee, for thou hast need of him.*
> *There is a time when in their very hands is the issue for good.*
> *For they also shall beseech the Lord that He prosper them*
> *In relief and in healing for the maintenance of life.*
> *He that sinneth before His Maker,*
> *Let him fall into the hands of the physician.*[2]

Apart from the question with which we are now dealing, these words are of interest as giving a glimpse into the life of the Jerusalem of this period. We may also trace the intellectual influence of the Greek upon the Jew in the adoption of another Greek institution. The Gymnasium was used by the Greeks not only for bodily exercises. Throughout

4. The Gymnasium and its Opportunities for Debate;

[1] That is, without respect to other considerations of religion or of race.

[2] Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 1-15.

the Greek world it was a place for conversation and discussion both political and philosophic. This opportunity for the ventilation of liberal opinions was no doubt a principal reason for the hostility to the establishment of the Gymnasium in Jerusalem. But the influence of the latter prevailed: and in later times the Xystos became a centre for popular gatherings. Finally,[1] command of the Greek language opened to the Jewish mind the treasures of Greek literature and philosophy. Ptolemy II. had collected a very large library in Alexandria; and just as we have seen that some Jewish writers freely borrowed from the folklore of the Eastern peoples around them, so there is abundant proof that others with equal freedom and more method used the materials and absorbed the spirit of Greek literature. This proof is found largely in a number of quotations preserved by Alexander Polyhistor (*c.* 80-40 B.C.) from authors who, while using the Greek language, exhibit obvious signs of their Jewish nationality.[2] Among them are both historians and poets. Before this, Jewish historians had not so absolutely confined their interest in history to its religious and ethical lessons as some moderns seem to imply; there had been annals of Israel which the compilers of our Old Testament histories employed, and even in the original

5. Greek Literature and Philosophy.

[1] Schlatter, pp. 24 ff., indeed suggests that if the Jews did not owe their new interest in Astronomy and Astrology to Greek teaching, the openness of the Jewish mind to Hellenism facilitated its opening also to that Eastern culture which had especially elaborated these sciences. But more probably the Jewish interest in Astronomy was developed before the Greek period.

[2] The list of them with their fragments, as quoted by Alexander and handed down by Eusebius and Clement of Alexandria, is given by Müller, *Frag. Histor. Graec.* iii. 206-244; see what he says on the obviously Jewish origin of the writings in question, p. 207*b*; cf. Schürer, *Gesch.*(3) ii. § 33.

work of the latter there are notes upon the origins of the races of mankind and other antiquarian matters which reveal an interest in history for its own sake.[1] But in the Hellenistic Jews quoted by Alexander, especially Demetrius, Eupolemus and Artapanus, this interest is much developed; while in the Letter of Aristeas we find signal evidence of the way in which a Jew of the period sought to put himself into the Greek attitude and write about his people from a Greek standpoint. Of Jewish poets in the Greek language Alexander mentions two: Philo, who wrote an epic on Jerusalem,[2] and Ezekiel, who wrote 'Jewish tragedies,' among them one on the Exodus.[3] Of the absorption of Greek philosophy by the Jews of the Diaspora, we have some illustration in passages which have survived from the works of Aristobulus of Alexandria under Ptolemy Philometor (181-146). They betray not only the direct and dominant influence of Aristotle, but a knowledge of Plato and other leaders of Greek thought. Aristobulus, who is said to have been of the High-priestly family and in correspondence with Judas Maccabeus, was certainly not the first of his countrymen who, while striving to prove that Greek philosophy derived its principles from the Hebrew Scriptures, succeeded only in showing how much their own minds were governed by the Greek language and the Greek methods.[4] We must also keep

[1] This small addition is necessary to Schürer's contrasts between the historians of Pharisaic, and those of Hellenistic, Judaism, *Gesch.*(3) ii. § 33, p. 345.

[2] Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* (ed. Gaisford, ii. 378, 392, 434) ix. 20, 24, 37, from Alex. Pol.; Müller, iii. 213, 219, 229 (extracts 6, 11, 23). See below, p. 462.

[3] Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* ix. 28, 29 (ed. Gais. 404 ff.); Müller, iii. 224 f.

[4] In 2 Macc. i. 10 it is said he belonged not merely to the priestly but to the *high*-priestly stock (ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν χριστῶν ἱερέων γένους = הַכֹּהֵן הַמָּשִׁיחַ).

in mind another work of the Diaspora, the Book of Wisdom, which, while showing more dependence on orthodox Palestinian Judaism than the works just cited, clearly reveals the direct influence both of Plato and the Stoics.

The Welcome of the Hebrew Mind to the Greek.

By all these and other avenues the Greek mind poured its rich influences upon the mind of the Jew. In the latter there was already much to give them welcome. For till the arrival of the Greeks in Western Asia, the Jew felt himself a solitary among the nations. These were all, except the Samaritans, worshippers of images. As many of his Scriptures reminded him, he alone was *wise*. Next to his faith in a righteous God, what most sustained him through his persecutions by the heathen was his strong sense of intellectual superiority. He knew his height above these grovellers before animals and the stocks and stones which their own hands had shaped. The scorn which he poured on them was a sweet relief to the misery he endured from their oppression. But in the philosophic Greek he thought he had at last found a fellow. The rational element in this Gentile mind appealed to him; the Greek, too, was *wise*. In the powers of synthesis and construction which he discovered in Greek literature he could not but recognise abilities in which his own mind was deficient, forces which promised to complete the efforts he had already begun in these

and a letter is given from Judas Maccabeus to him, in which he is addressed as 'the teacher of Ptolemy.' We owe our knowledge of his writings to fragments preserved in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. v. vi.; Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* vii. 14, viii. 10, xiii. 12 (ed. Gaisford, ii. 185, 291, iii.) For accounts and discussions of Aristobulus, see Ewald's *Hist.* (Eng. trans.) v. 259, 357, 488; Schürer, *Gesch.*[3] ii. 384 f. (Eng. trans.) div. ii., vol. iii. 237 ff.); and Schlatter, *Gesch.* 39 ff.

directions. On the other side he must have welcomed the rationalising of religions and mythologies by Greek philosophy,[1] for had he not already by himself employed the stuff of Oriental myths in his monotheistic interpretations of the Universe and history?[2] Nor could he escape the further influences of Greek scepticism. Confident theories have therefore been formed of the Greek origin of both the constructive and the sceptical elements in the later literature of the Jewish Wisdom. The conception of the Cosmos and of the Divine Wisdom which pervades it, the identification of knowledge and virtue, the division of mankind into wise and fools, with its emphasis upon the intellectual basis of character—these features of the Prologue to the Book of Proverbs, of Ecclesiastes and of Ben Sira, have been traced directly to the same Greek example and influence which we have seen so operative among Jewish writers of the Diaspora. But in the case of the former, all of them written in Palestine and probably in Jerusalem, much more discrimination is necessary than in that of the latter. Even if on other grounds we grant that

[1] Cf. Schlatter, p. 31, on Euhemerus.

[2] There is a charming tale attributed by Josephus to Hecatæus (*C. Apion.* i. 22) which might be used to illustrate the innate sympathy between the mind of the Jew and that of the enlightened Greek, if we were sure that it was from Hecatæus himself and not the work of a Jewish writer who used his name; for the author of the story evidently regards with approval the Jewish rebuke of superstition which it recounts. A troop of Greeks marching towards the Red Sea was suddenly ordered to halt by their Mantis. A Jewish archer (Mosollamos or Meshullam) among them asked why, and the augur pointed to a bird by whose movements he said their own must be determined. Whereupon Meshullam shot the bird. The augur and others were indignant. 'Why, are you mad?' said M.; 'how could this bird, which did not provide for its own safety, tell us anything sound about our march? If it was able to foretell the future it would never have come to this place, fearing that Meshullam the Jew would shoot it dead.'

Proverbs, like Ben Sira, belongs to the Greek Period, we must remember that some conception of the Universe and of the one Divine Wisdom which runs through nature and history had been reached by Hebrew prophets centuries before; and that prophets as well as Deuteronomists had emphasised the connection between knowledge and virtue—which indeed is implied in the elastic meaning and practical bearings of the Hebrew verb *to know*. In this case, as in that of the doctrine of immortality,[1] the germs and first shoots of her wisdom were Israel's own. But the new climate, which Hellenism had brought upon Western Asia, was peculiarly favourable to their growth, and at least some of them were ripened by its influences. Even for the sceptical forms of Hebrew wisdom we have found precedents in prophecy as far back as before the Exile, while the Book of Job, that epic of scepticism, is entirely due to the experience of the East and is untouched by Greek speculation. The Book of Ecclesiastes, however, introduces us to a wider subject than scepticism, and requires separate treatment.

To Ecclesiastes, the lateness of whose language is obvious, various dates have been assigned from the end of the Persian Period to the reign of Herod the Great.[2]

[1] See the author's *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the O.T.*, 207 f.

[2] Later Persian Period, Ewald, Ginsburg, Delitzsch; that or Greek Period during wars of Ptolemies and Seleucids, but earlier than the rise of the national spirit under the Maccabees, A. B. Davidson, *Enc. Bibl.* 1161; similarly Driver, *Introd.*[6] 476; Wildeboer, *Kurzer Hand-Comm.* 113 f.; Budde, *Gesch. d. alt-Hebr. Litt.* 304, and others; the original book before Ben Sira with additions till 100 B.C., Siegfried in Nowack's *Hand-Komm.* Winckler, *Alt-Orient. Forsch.*[2], assigns the kernel to Alkimos; reign of Alex. Jannæus, König, *Einl.* 432 ff.; Herod, Grätz, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1885 (not seen); cf. Cheyne, *Jewish Relig. Life after the Exile*, 183 ff., and *Enc. Bibl.* 1163 f.

He calls himself *Koheleth*,[1] *Preacher*, literally *one who calls together*, or *takes part in*, a *Kahal* or *ecclesia*, a public *assembly* or *congregation*, and as we shall see he was a Jew of Jerusalem, with disciples and exercising authority. His indebtedness to the Greek mind has been widely asserted, but is very doubtful. To begin with, there are only a few traces of Greek in his language,[2] and these uncertain; otherwise his speech, his style, and his way of thinking, are all Semitic. They are as different as possible from those of his Hellenised contemporaries of the Diaspora. This far more original Jew of Jerusalem betrays no such influence as is obvious in the case of Aristobulus or the Book of Wisdom. The various parallels which moderns have drawn between the thoughts and phrases of Ecclesiastes and those of Greek philosophers[3] are only exhibitions of the rationalism and the humanity common to them both.

Ecclesiastes—Hebraic Character of his Style, Methods,

[1] הַקֹּהֶלֶת, a femin. participle, but always with the masc. form of the verb (vii. 27 read אמר הקהלת). Elsewhere in Heb. a fem. is used for a masc. as if for the office or rank which the verb expresses, and hence for the holder of the office, Ezra ii. 55, 57. A similar use of the fem. is found in Arabic, *e.g.* Khalifah; as expressing the full realisation of the duty or ideal of the office (for instances see W. Wright, *Arab. Gram.* i. § 233 rem. *c*). The Greek Ἐκκλησιαστής, *one who sits*, or *speaks*, *in the* ἐκκλησία, is therefore an exact translation.

[2] These have been marked (Wildeboer, 114). יָפֶה *beautiful*, is like καλός used for seemly or excellent, and is joined with טוֹב *good* (v. 17), like καλὸς κἀγαθός; תּוּר, *to look round about*, is compared with σκέπτεσθαι (i. 13, ii. 3); and the constant תחת השמש, *under the sun* = ὑφ' ἡλίῳ. But none is certainly from the Greek; the first seems the most probable; see also next note.

[3] 'The idea of Tyler, who is followed by Plumptre, that the Book is a blend of the Stoic and Epicurean philosophies, seems extraordinarily superficial, and is supported mainly by what appears misinterpretation of its language. . . . Determinism is, of course, a prevailing idea in the Book. That, however, is just the fundamental idea of the Wisdom, or indeed of the Hebrew mind—that God is the causality in all things—with the inevitable development which time gave it. At first sight the phrase "to do good" in the sense of "to

The principles, upon which the Preacher falls back from the exhaustion of his research and his experience of the resultlessness of life, are all native to Israel. We need not look elsewhere for his convictions that God has made the world and made it beautiful, that He has a purpose in it though this be not discoverable by us, that He has appointed to men their labours and their pleasures alike, that there is an order in life, a set time for everything, that even by the worst disorders God is proving or testing men, and that, all experience to the contrary, the wise man *is* better than the fool;[1] nor for the Preacher's practical precepts to fear God, to be sincere and restrained in His worship, to remember His care of the righteous and His bringing into judgment all that is done.[2] One remarkable passage enjoins men,

and Principles.

see good" to enjoy life (iii. 12) has a startling resemblance to the Gk. εὖ πράττειν; but after all, the senses of the two phrases are somewhat different, and there is no reason to suppose the Hebrew expression to be an imitation; though not occurring elsewhere, its opposite "to do badly" (i.e. *to be sad*) is used in early literature (2 Sam. xii. 18, and perhaps Eccles. v. 1), and possibly the phrase itself may be ancient.'—A. B. Davidson, *Enc. Bibl.* 1162. Similar also is the summary verdict of Budde (*Gesch. d. alt-Hebr. Litt.* 305):—'Seine eigentümliche Grösse gewinnt noch dadurch, dass man seine Gedanken vergeblich aus dem Einfluss griechischer Philosophie herzuleiten sucht; *in ihrer eigentümlichen Unfolgerichtigkeit sind sie vielmehr*, so viel oder so wenig er von jenem mag gewusst haben, durchaus sein persönliches Eigentum.' Cf. Wildeboer (*Kurzer Hand-Commentar*, 113): 'deutlich erkennbarer Einfluss der gr. Philosophie lässt sich nicht nachweisen.' A good monograph on the subject is that of Kleinert, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1883, 761 ff., whose conclusion is that all that the Book betrays is the influence of the general atmosphere of the later Greek mind. See too Genung, *Words of Koheleth*, 1904.

[1] iii. 10-15, 17; v. 18 ff.; vii. 13 f.; viii. 15; ix. 1, 13-16, 17 ff.; xi. 5. To these we might add ii. 24 ff. and vii. 26; though the more positive clauses in them are taken by some to be interpolations, they go little further than the sayings cited above, which are allowed to be original.

[2] iii. 14; v. 1-7; vii. 18; viii. 12 f.; xi. 9. The authenticity of viii. 12*b*, 13, is denied by some, and certainly 12*a* is not harmonious with 13. On the other hand, there is no reason to take xi. 9 as an addition; the *judgment* mentioned in it is not the one last judgment in a life to come, but the continual process apparent in this life.

though God's processes be unknowable, to strike into the opportunities these afford, with unceasing vigilance and labour.[1] *Send forth thy bread on the face of the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days. Divide a portion into seven, yea even into eight, for thou knowest not what evil shall be on the earth. . . . As thou knowest not what is the way of the Wind*, or *the Spirit, nor how the bones* grow *in the womb of her that is with child; even so thou knowest not the work of God who doeth all. In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thy hand; for thou knowest not which shall prosper, whether this or that, or whether they both alike shall be good. Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun. Yea, if a man live many years, let him rejoice in them all, but remember the days of darkness for they shall be many.* Another said in Jerusalem: *The Wind*, or *the Spirit, bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the noise thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh nor whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit*; and again, *We must work the works of Him that sent me while it is day, for the night cometh when no man can work.*[2] Ecclesiastes, it is commonly said, is nowhere quoted in the New Testament, yet these words of our Lord sound like an echo of the words of the Preacher—an echo in that higher sphere into which Jesus carried the sayings of those who were before Him.[3] But no teacher in Israel required to go to the Greek for such things, even if the Greek knew and had already expressed them in his own inimitable way.

[1] xi. 1-8. [2] John iii. 8; ix. 4; cf. xii. 35 f.

[3] The whole subject of the influence of the Books of Wisdom upon our Lord's teaching requires fresh and thorough study; see Foster Kent, *The Wise Men of Israel*, and *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the O.T.*, Lecture viii.

Nor did the Preacher even require to borrow from 'the Greek Spirit' his sense of the indifferent flux of nature or of all the resultlessness of life.[1] These may be confidently ascribed to his own mind and to the influence of his times, but far more to the former than to the latter. The times were in part unsettled and evil. The rapid changes of rank and fortune which the Preacher notices,[2] were very possible in Israel of the Greek age. Injustice and oppression, such as he laments,[3] were bound to be rife, when the supreme authority was foreign and far off and the factions at home were so eager for its patronage, so jealous of each other and so unscrupulous. But there was another side to these times, which modern writers on the Book tend to overlook. *Great works* were undertaken and carried through: *houses, vineyards, gardens, parks, pools of water.* Herds and flocks, troops of servants and singers, wealth and treasures, could be accumulated.[4] With all his griefs, the man who toiled could have joy in his work, men would envy him for it, and he had peace to heap up its gains.[5] There was freedom for study, for the growth of wisdom, and for the joys of life.[6] Such reflections upon the Book allow us to assign it—in spite of its shadows, and if we keep in view the real source of these in the mind of its author—to the same age as produced the kindred but sunnier spirit of Ben Sira. The temper of the Preacher is his own: *I communed with mine own heart*,[7] he says, and by variations of this phrase,

His reflection of his Times.

His originality.

[1] i. 2 ff.; 14 ff.; ii. 11, 17, etc. etc.
[2] ii. 21; iv. 14; v. 13 ff.; vi. 2; ix. 13 ff.; x. 5 ff.
[3] iii. 16; iv. 1; v. 8. [4] ii. 1-11; cf. v. 10-12, etc.
[5] ii. 24; iii. 13, 22; iv. 4; v. 10-12, 18-20, etc. [6] ix. 7-10, etc.
[7] i. 13, 16, 17; viii. 16; ix. 1, and so the frequent *I have seen, I turned, I proved, I said in my heart, I applied my heart.*

which always emphasise the first personal pronoun, he insists that it is his individual experience and musings which he unfolds. The things which affected him had touched many in Israel before him: that the righteous man got the wicked's deserts, and that the wicked reaped the reward of the righteous; that men might labour anxiously and with wisdom, but must leave their gains to the idler; that men won wealth but in the winning lost the power to enjoy it; that death always came so fast and so certain, the wise had no advantage above the fool, nor man above the beasts—and all this in spite of the truth, to which he returns again and again, that wisdom *is* better than folly.[1] Only the Preacher broods more upon these facts than any of his predecessors in Jerusalem have done. He has none of the national enthusiasm and very little of the personal passion for God which enabled them to triumph over life and death itself. For the moment Israel seemed to have lost not only its hope, but also in minds like the Preacher's its sense of distinction. In his fascination by the chances and the last fate which befall all men alike, it was impossible to feel that Israel was different from other peoples. Deuteronomy[2] was no longer true. *All things come alike to all; there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked, to the good and to the evil,*[3] *to the clean and to the unclean, to him that sacrificeth and to him that sacrificeth not; as is the good so is the sinner, he that sweareth as he that feareth an oath;*[4] *this is an evil in all that is done under the sun, that there is one event unto all: yea also the heart of the sons of men is full*

[1] ii. 13, 14 ff., 18-22; iii. 18-21; v. 13-17; vi. 1-9; viii. 14; ix. 1 ff., 11 f., 13-16.

[2] See above, p. 216.

[3] So the LXX.

[4] Or *he that forsweareth himself as he that reverenceth an oath* (?).

of evil, madness is in their heart while they live and after that—to the dead![1] We may reasonably ascribe such generalising, as extreme in one direction as the teaching of Deuteronomy was in another, to that experience of life upon the same levels with foreign peoples to which the Greek empire in Asia so lavishly introduced the Jew. Whether the intellectual atmosphere of Hellenism had also told upon the Preacher —whether he was aware of the questions started by Greek philosophers,[2] and was directly disturbed by them—is very doubtful. The most reasonable conclusion appears to be that if the interest of Israel was no longer confined to the nation and its fortunes, but had spread with the Preacher upon all *the sons of men* and *all that is done under the Sun*,[3] this was due more to the opportunity, than to the example, provided by Greece; while the novel width of his survey and of his consequent sympathies and his peculiar temperament are, in themselves and without any resort to Greek philosophy, sufficient to account for the weariness of his spirit and the scepticism which prevails in so much of his thinking.

His sense of Humanity as a Whole.

But however we may decide this question of Greek influence, the great fact is certain that from the spirit of the Preacher, and through the assemblies he addressed, Israel were learning what the Book of Jonah, in its simpler way, represents them as learning in the person of that prophet when he fled across the sea, their commonness with all the sons of men; and were winning the power to realise humanity as a whole. For this essential moment in their discipline

His unique Service to Israel.

[1] ix. 2 f.: cf. ii. 14, etc.

[2] Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, § 105, 9.

[3] Constant phrases of his, *e.g.* i. 3, 13 f.; ii. 18, etc. etc.

the nation not only required to undertake those stormy voyages with the heathen, and to come face to face with those populous cities to which the Greek dispensation called them, and the effects of both of which the Book of Jonah so graphically describes;[1] but they must embark, too, upon the more perilous seas of research and of doubt over which the Preacher steered his solitary craft. Cut loose from their sense of distinction and religious privilege, Israel had to reflect upon the labour, the baffled thought, the sorrow and the death which made them one with all the sons of men, before their experience and sympathy became adequate for their mission to the world. It is thus that the Book vindicates its rank in the religious history of Israel. Whatever may have been the motives which led to its official embodiment in the Canon, Ecclesiastes by its very scepticism, its sympathy with the groping and disappointed mind of man, deserved a place among the sacred writings. The school of Hillel which accepted it were right, and the school of Shammai which sought its rejection were wrong.[2] In the Providential discipline of Israel the Book of Ecclesiastes was as indispensable as was its opposite pole the Book of Deuteronomy.

And equally with the Deuteronomists, Ecclesiastes was a son of Jerusalem. The Preacher was not a Jew

[1] If the Book be of the Persian Period this would only date earlier the beginnings of the lesson which Israel principally owed to the Greeks. See above, p. 399 *n.* 2.

[2] The Epilogue to Ecclesiastes, xii. 9-14, is of course later and by another hand than the rest of the Book; the Preacher is described in it in the third person. Probably it was this defence of him, and the very orthodox utterance with which it closes, that assisted the official reception of the Book into the Canon.

of the Dispersion, nor does he even appear to have been a traveller like Ben Sira. For one of his troubles is that he has seen the wicked peacefully gathered to the graves of their fathers, while *they that did right went away from the Holy Place and were forgotten in the City*.[1] Those whom he addresses live close to the Temple, can sacrifice and fulfil their vows.[2] The royal mask which he assumes in the beginning of his Book[3] is soon dropped, and even for the short time he wears it is so detachable that we cannot argue from it as to his location. But that he belonged to the City remains clear, both from the passages just cited and from another expression, in which Solomon is made to speak of Jerusalem only: *I had great possessions of herds and flocks above all who were before me in Jerusalem.* Under the shadow of the Temple, then, did *Ḳoheleth, Ḳahal-minister* and *Master of Assemblies*, gather his audiences, *teach the people*, and, according to the Epilogue, found his school.[4] That baptism of Israel in the common sorrows and doubts of humanity, of which he was the minister, took place in Jerusalem, just like every other crisis in the history of

Jerusalem the Mother of Ecclesiastes.

[1] viii. 10: a difficult verse, but such, following the Greek reading, seems to be the true sense.

[2] v. 1 ff.

[3] For the conclusion that the Preacher himself assumed the personality of Solomon, and that it was not forced on him by a later hand, and for the greater probability of this both on textual and psychological grounds, I have not space to give the detailed argument.

[4] On Ḳoheleth see above, p. 411 ff. The phrase xii. 11, בַּעֲלֵי אֲסִפּוֹת, is probably correctly rendered by our version, *masters of assemblies*, for such is the meaning of אספה in Phoen. (Block, *Phön. Glossar.* 14) and Mishnic Hebrew (Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, i. 127); but others take it to mean collections of sentences; see Nowack *in loco*. In any case the tradition about the Preacher given in the Epilogue is clear: he was one of the wise, a teacher of the people, whose influence remained.

the nation's mind ; for, as we have seen, even the pregnant sufferings of the Babylonian Exile were no less really endured within Ṣion [1] than were those which happened behind her actual walls. Jerusalem was always the Mother of Sorrows to Israel—even now also when the sorrows were not national, but the universal grief and darkness of mankind.

8. The Reaction against Hellenism.

Jewish reaction against Hellenism.

But all these effects on the Jew, both of the opportunities which Greek empire afforded and of the direct influence of Greek example and doctrine, represent only one side of Israel's attitude to Hellenism. Within the same small population which produced the humane and liberal spirit of Ben Sira, proud of the advantages of travel and favourable to foreign fashions, and the universal sorrow of the Preacher, too vast to nestle on the breast of any mother, but moaning like the sea round every coast of the sons of men, there were being fostered, during these same years, the hopes of national freedom, the passionate loyalty to Law and Temple and the fierce intolerance of other faiths, which were immediately to break out in the Maccabean Revolt. We have, therefore, now to inquire what it was which in spite of his long experience of a mild Greek rule and the welcome which he gave to Greek fashions, discovered to the Jew the essential hostility between himself and the Greek, and drove him to fight to the death for his national institutions and the faith of his fathers.

[1] See above, pp. 287 ff.

Causes and Progress of this Reaction (1) among the Greeks.

Forebodings of this discovery we have seen in both Greek and Jew from the very beginnings of their intimacy with each other. Hecatæus emphasised the absence of images in the Temple and of every sensuous object of worship.[1] Behind the similarities of temper and the common political interests which drew the two races together, especially in Egypt, other Greeks soon[2] detected that same national tenacity, that pride of distinction and destiny, and those peculiar rites and institutions, by all of which Israel had already provoked the hostility of their Semitic and Egyptian neighbours. Alike to the philosophers and the statesmen of Greece, the spirit and the customs of the Jew were perplexing and offensive. For the sake of his absurd Sabbath he would not defend his city or temple, and was therefore to Greek eyes no patriot; yet his nationalism was

[1] See above, p. 384. He adds that Moses conceived the Heaven which surrounds the earth to be God alone and the Lord of the universe (*μόνον εἶναι θεὸν καὶ τῶν ὅλων κύριον*, quoted by Diodorus Sic. xl. 3; Müller, *Frag. Histor. Graec.* ii. 391 f.). This statement, so often repeated by Greek and Latin writers, was probably due to the divine title common in later Hebrew literature, אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם, *God of Heaven*; in Aramaic, אֱלָהּ שְׁמַיָּא, or even שְׁמַיָּא alone (Dan. ii. 18, iv. 23, the Books of the Maccabees and the Mishna).

[2] It is striking that the worst outbursts extant of Greek hatred and contempt for the Jews, emphasising their exclusiveness and misanthropy, do not occur till after the Maccabean revolt and reorganisation of Israel (cf. Posidonius of Apamaca, *c.* 135-51 B.C.: *apud* Diodorus, xxxiv. 1, Jos. *C. Apion.* ii. 7, Müller, iii. 256; and Apollonius of Rhodes, *c.* 100-75 B.C., *apud* Jos. *C. Apion.* ii. 7, 14, 33, 36); but we find the same feelings already expressed by Agatharchides of Cnidos under Ptolemy Philometor (181-146 B.C., quoted by Jos. *C. Apion.* i. 22; Müller, iii. 196). The common fable that the Jews worshipped the head of an ass is found as early as Mnaseas of Patras (beginning of second century B.C.; Jos. *C. Apion.* ii. 9; Reinach, *Textes*, 49 f.). On Manetho, who wrote in Greek, though expressing Egyptian feeling, see above, p. 401.

so fanatic that of all the peoples of Syria he alone refused to be absorbed by Hellenism. There was, too, the awkwardness of his geographical position. Had Israel lived on the Levant, it might have been possible to Hellenise them. But so far from the sea, with the desert behind and all that the desert meant to Israel, mentally as well as physically, the nation was an extremely dangerous one for its Greek sovereigns to provoke. That these felt the danger is apparent from all the policy of the Ptolemies and Seleucids towards Jerusalem. They sought her subjection to Hellenism less by the invasion of their arms than by the gradual infection of her life through the Greek cities with which they surrounded her, and by the creation among her citizens of parties favourable to themselves. But whether they treated her with force or with intrigue, their sense is constant of the uniqueness of Jerusalem among the states subject to them, of the essential hostility of her spirit and her system to the spirit and the aims of Hellenism.

(2) Among the Jews.

On the other side Israel became equally conscious of the antagonism. Even the illuminated Jew, of the most liberal views, could not forget the uniqueness of his history or the superiority of his ethics. Even in Alexandria, Aristobulus employed his Greek scholarship in the endeavour to prove that the Hebrew scriptures were the source of all the wisdom of Greece. Ben Sira, for all his foreign culture, is proud of the story of his little people, and carried away by the glory of their worship. It surprises one to see his prudence change to passion when he turns to these subjects; to find a man so travelled, so aware of the

world and liberal in his views as in his tastes, celebrate like any Deuteronomist the divine story of Israel and the splendours of the national ritual. Wisdom might brood over all the peoples of the world, but *in Sion was she established, and in Jerusalem was her authority.*[1] Salvation was of the Jews! Ben Sira's concluding prayer is not only for the joy and peace of his people, but for their deliverance: *let Him deliver us in His time.*[2] He curiously adds, *with two nations is my soul vexed, and the third is no nation: they that sit on the Mount of Samaria, and the Philistines, and that foolish people which dwelleth in Sichem.* These last, of course, are the Samaritans. If the reading of the first be correct,[3] Ben Sira means the Greeks, whose centre of authority in Palestine was established in Samaria,[4] while by *the Philistines* he covers the Hellenised inhabitants of the formerly Philistine cities.[5] If such reactions are apparent in the green trees, upon which Hellenism had been so liberally grafted, what must it have been in the old, main stocks of Judaism? Even Ecclesiastes is driven back from his wide doubts upon the simple principles of his fathers—nothing else for him abides sure—and even he does not dissuade his people from the *House of God*, nor says more against sacrifice than the Prophets had said before him.[6] The devotees of the Law can have viewed the results of a century of Greek progress only with hatred and alarm. They were as hostile to and scornful of idols as their fathers, as jealous of circumcision and the Sabbath, as

[1] xxiv. 10 f.; on his Jewish ethics see ix. 3 ff.
[2] l. 24: cf. xxxvi. 1-11. [3] Some versions read *Seir* for *Samaria*.
[4] Above, pp. 374, 376 ff.
[5] The LXX. translates *Philistines* in Isa. ix. 12 by Ἕλληνες.
[6] v. 1 ff.: cf. Ecclesiasticus xxxv. 1 ff.

sure of the sufficient wisdom of the Law, as proud of the uniqueness of their race. But they discovered that Hellenism, instead of destroying the idols of their neighbours, left these alone or gave them the names of the gods of Greece. Centuries of contact had taught them, what recent excavations have revealed to ourselves, the uncleanness and the cruelty of the cults of Canaan. They were finding that for such sores Hellenism had no remedies. *The fear of Jahweh*, says one of their Psalmists, thinking of those other impure and changeable religions, *the fear of Jahweh is clean and enduring for ever.* They heard the Sabbath ridiculed by Greeks, and in the new stir of life which Hellenism excited they found it ever more difficult to keep. They saw some Jews becoming ashamed of circumcision and otherwise neglecting the Law, and a number lapsing through such stages into open revolt. Amid the influx of Greek thought and fashion they keenly felt their own and their children's danger: *keep back thy servant*, says the same Psalmist, *from overweening men; let them not have dominion over me, then shall I be perfect and guiltless of the great apostasy.*[1] This inevitable reaction against Hellenism appears to have been organised. By the time of the Maccabees a party had been formed, whose name, Asidaeoi or *Ḥasîdîm*, testifies at once to their loyalty to Israel's God and their sense of His distinctive mercies to themselves.[2] From so influential a group the feeling must have spread left and right throughout Israel—to the simpler country folk ignorant of Greek and tenacious of the customs of their fathers, to the fanatics for national liberty, and, upon the questions

Its organisation.

[1] Psalm xix. 13 f.

[2] Vol. i. 401 f.

of the idols and the ethics, to the more liberal *wise men*. But while all these experiences supplied material for the crisis, the occasion of this would hardly have arrived but for two other causes—the old curse of political factions in Jerusalem herself, and the persecutions of Antiochus IV., in strange contrast to the policy of the Ptolemies.

9. The Jewish Factions and Antiochus Epiphanes.

We have already seen[1] how a certain Joseph, son of Ṭobiah, had secured towards 200 B.C. the management of the Egyptian tribute from Palestine, and was thereby risen to great wealth and influence in Jerusalem. His family and adherents, known as the Tobiadæ, formed a powerful party over against the Oniadæ, the family with whom the High-priest's office still remained,[2] and divided with them the allegiance of 'the multitude.'[3] Joseph lived through the Seleucid conquest of Palestine and into the reign of Seleucus IV. (187-175). Under the Seleucids he or his family retained the farm of the taxes, and Josephus gratefully records that he brought his people 'out of a state of poverty into one which was more splendid.' Probably it was by his services that the transference of the Jews to Antiochus the Great was facilitated and the favourable terms secured which that monarch granted to them.[4] Joseph had several legitimate sons and one illegitimate, whose Greek name was Hyrkanus.[5] Hyr-

Factions in Jerusalem: Oniads and Tobiads.

Joseph Ben-Ṭobiah.

[1] Vol. i. 368, 399.

[2] Vol. i. 393, 398 f., they were descended from Ṣadok, whom Solomon had instituted as chief priest in place of Abiathar; vol. ii. p. 49.

[3] Josephus, xii. *Ant.* v. 1.

[4] Above, p. 380.

[5] For what follows see xii. *Ant.* iv. 11.

kanus resided at the Egyptian court, but the other sons with their father at Jerusalem. From what happened afterwards it appears that while they accepted the Seleucid régime he endeavoured to restore that of the Ptolemies; and thus the old and familiar situation was repeated in Jerusalem. There was a party for Egypt and a party for the North. Hyrkanus marched upon Judah with an armed force, was opposed by his brethren, and slew two of them; but although 'the multitude was divided in this war,' 'when he came to the City nobody would receive him.' The High-priest being related to the elder Tobiadæ took sides with them, and hopeless of his Egyptian schemes Hyrkanus retired beyond Jordan, where for seven years, warring with the Arabs, he sustained a principality of his own. The ruins of Ḳaṣr el-'Abd and the adjacent caves of 'Arâḳ el-Emîr, the Cliffs-of-the-Prince, still testify to the accuracy of Josephus's description of the fortress which Hyrkanus built, and furnish us with proofs of the wealth of his generation and the styles of its architecture. In the neighbouring Khurbet eṣ-Ṣâr there is perhaps an echo of the name which he gave to his place, Ṣûr, in Greek Tyros or Tyre.[1] The remains of a rude and lavish grandeur are everywhere visible. A high and dry plateau was converted, by a strong dam and by an aqueduct from the distant sources of the stream above which it lies, into a lake or broad moat. In the middle

Hyrkanus and his Fortress, Ṣûr.

[1] According to the *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Eastern Palestine,' Kh. [eṣ] Ṣâr, W. of 'Arâḳ el-Emîr, was itself a place of importance on a site 500 yards square by an ancient road from 'Ammân. The identifiable masonry is Roman; but the ruined tower may have been an outpost of Hyrkanus's fortress. Close by there is a Kh. es-Ṣûr, whether spelt with a Sin or a Ṣad is doubtful. The Wâdy es-Sir, above which Ḳaṣr el-'Abd and 'Araḳ el-Emîr lie, has its name from another root, and means W. of the Sheepfold (so 'E. Palestine,' 277).

of this, upon an artificial mound connected with the shore by a causeway, a considerable palace was erected. The stones, all large, some vast, were carefully dressed, and on the walls were the figures of great animals.[1] In the cliff which rises to the west two tiers of caves open, one from the ground, the other from a terrace which is approached by a sloping ramp and has at one end a great detached block curiously carved with pigeon-holes.[2] Some of the upper caves, with their side chambers, have many mangers; they were the stables of the cavalry used by Hyrkanus against the Arabs. Others with corniced roofs and deep carvings were, as Josephus describes, for sleeping, feeding and living in. On the sides of the entrances to two on the lower tier are inscribed the consonants of the name Ṭobiah, either the Hebrew name

[1] Josephus's description is in xii. *Ant.* iv. 11. The part of the plateau converted into a lake is some 320 yards broad; walled to the N.W. by the long cliff and protected on the N. by a knoll; the dam runs round the S. and E.; the aqueduct is from the N.; the causeway runs N.E. from the island. The palace is 126 ft. by 62, and was probably 21 or 22 ft. high. The stones, boss and margin, are pick-dressed; two of the largest are 20 ft. by 10, and 17, 4 by 8 by 2, 8. The capitals of some pillars are peculiar, most nearly resembling Egyptian, but other details seem a rough reproduction of the Greek. I take the figures from the *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'E. Palestine,' where the account is clear and thorough, but the description I give from my own examination of the site. The nomads have already begun to settle upon it, and we must expect the ruins to diminish. I found a man building a house whose fathers had been tent-dwellers (see above, vol. i. 286). See further both for the ruins and the caves Duc de Luynes, *Voyage*, 138 ff.; De Vogüé, *Temple de Jérusalem*, Pl. 35, and *Revue Archéol.*, 1864, 208 ff., 1865, 31 ff.; De Saulcy, *Ibid.* 137 ff.; Merrill, *E. of the Jordan*, 106 ff.; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 170; Gautier, *Au delà du Jourdain*, 118 ff.; Driver, *Text of the Bks. of Samuel*, xxi.; and especially Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Researches in Palestine*, ii. 261 ff.

[2] The purpose of this (16½ feet high by 12½ broad and 7 thick) and its twenty-six niches or pigeon-holes is uncertain. Was it to light up the terrace? Our Arab guide said there is a similar one at Merj el Ḥammâm, N.W. of Madaba, on the road from 'Ammân.

of Hyrkanus himself, or the proof of his continued pride in his family.[1] To have seen these remains is to understand the character and ambitions of this Jewish clan from whom their nation had gained so much, but was destined to suffer unspeakable evils. If one of their bastards, whom they had themselves disowned, could build a fortress and a state like this and hold it seven years in defiance of the Seleucid authority and against the fierce tribes of Arabia, we can appreciate the influence of the family in Jerusalem and at the court of Antioch: the wealth of their resources, the undaunted front they showed to foreign powers, the ambition they cherished of being kings themselves. With their command of the fiscal arrangements of the country, with their unscrupulous energy and skill, they easily outmatched the priestly aristocracy of Jerusalem, and made themselves indispensable to the Greek monarchy. The impecuniousness of this dynasty and its eagerness to Hellenise its subjects were equal temptations to the Jewish factions to outbid each other for its patronage, by promises of increased tribute and of the adoption of Greek fashions.

Proofs of the Power of the Tobiads.

So at least the author of Second Maccabees makes

[1] See Cl.-Ganneau *op. cit.*, who cites the custom among Jews of the time of having two names, Greek and Hebrew, and reminds us that Hyrkanus may have had his Hebrew name from his grandfather Ṭobiah, according to another Jewish fashion, and appeals to 2 Macc. iii. 11, where some of the treasure in the Temple is said to be that of Ὑρκανοῦ τοῦ Τοβίου, which may be translated Hyrkanus Tobias and not Hyrkanus son of Tobias. Most accounts of the inscription treat it as if it were single; but I saw and photographed *two* copies, one on the *left* of the entrance to a large cave on the lower tier which the peasants call ej-Jâyah, the other on the *right* of the entrance to another cave to which our guide gave the same name. This second is the inscription described in the *P.E.F. Mem.*; it is the better preserved of the two. See Plate XIII.

clear, and as he ascribes the original cause of his people's misfortunes to her factions rather than to the tyranny of her foreign lords, we may receive the substance of his narrative as true. According to him everything was going well at Jerusalem when Onias III. was High-priest in the early years of Seleucus IV. (187-175). The High-priesthood remained secure with its hereditary possessors. The Temple was respected by the Greeks, and 'of his own revenues the King bore all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices.'[1] It is no wonder that the whole population rejected the Egyptian offers of Hyrkanus about 182. They had reason to be content with their present lords and looked forward to years of peace. But then a Tobiad named Simon, the elder brother of Hyrkanus according to some,[2] and at least an adherent of the family, who was the civil guardian of the Temple, having quarrelled with the High-priest about the management of the city-market, went off to Apollonius the governor of Coelesyria, with a story that the Temple treasury was full of moneys not devoted to sacred purposes but exigible by the King. Apollonius reported the news to Seleucus, who sent his chancellor Heliodorus to make inquiry. Onias received the chancellor courteously, and explained that the Treasury held only 400 talents of silver and 200 of gold, and that these were the deposits of widows and orphans with other private moneys, including some belonging to Hyrkanus; to confiscate them would be to violate the trust which men put in the sanctity of a Temple honoured over the world.[3]

Simon's Quarrel with the High Priest.

Seleucus IV. sends Heliodorus to examine the Temple Treasures.

[1] 2 Macc. iii. 3.

[2] See above, vol. i. 399 *n.* 1.

[3] On the Temple as a Bank see above, vol. i. 354, 365.

But Heliodorus claimed everything for the King, and asserted his right of search. It was at once a sacrilege and an assault upon public security. Consternation fell upon the priesthood and people, and they cried unto God. 'When Heliodorus and his guards appeared over against the treasury, the Sovereign of Spirits and of all authority caused a great apparition so that all who had presumed to enter fainted and were sore afraid.' A horse with a terrible rider in golden armour rushed fiercely at Heliodorus and smote him with its forefeet, while two young men who stood by scourged him with many sore stripes, and he was carried off dying. But Onias magnanimously prayed for his life, and the same figures that beat him having assured him in a dream that he was revived for Onias's sake, he sacrificed and returned with his strange story to the King. When the King asked him what manner of man he should send to Jerusalem to complete the business, Heliodorus with grim humour advised him 'to despatch any enemy or conspirator against the state, and thou shalt have him back again well scourged, for of a truth there is about the place a power of God.'[1]

Simon, however, declared to Apollonius that the 'apparition' had been arranged by Onias, and further slandered the latter as a conspirator against the state.[2] Onias therefore travelled straight to the King, careful not so much for his own defence as for the interest of the commonwealth, 'for he saw that without the King's providence it was impossible for the state to have peace any more, and that Simon would not cease from his madness.' He was detained at the court, and his brother Jeshua' or Jason, in intrigue with the

Onias ousted by Jason his brother.

[1] 2 Macc. iii.

[2] Ἐπίβουλον τῶν πραγμάτων: 2 Macc. iv. 2.

Tobiadæ, took advantage of his absence to supplant him.

Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, 175-164.

In 175 Seleucus was murdered and succeeded by his brother Antiochus IV., who called himself Epiphanes, The God-Manifest, but was nicknamed Epimanes, The Maniac.[1] Both epithets are required to characterise the monarch, on whose powerful but unbalanced mind the fortunes of Israel now depended. Sensible people, says Polybius, knew not what to make of him; some thought him a plain, blunt fellow,[2] others a madman. For nearly fourteen years he had lived as a hostage at Rome, in the corrupt idleness of such a life; and then for some time at Athens, where he acted as a magistrate.[3] He knew the world, and as king could conceive great things: in religion, in art, in liberality, and even in war. In sacrifices in various cities and in honours to the gods he exceeded all who had reigned before him.[4] When he heard of the games celebrated in Macedonia by Æmilius Paulus, resolving to surpass their magnificence, he provided and personally marshalled at

[1] Epiphanes is not the ordinary epithet 'illustrious' (though Athenæus, v. 25, seems to take it in this sense), but an abbreviation of the title Θεὸς Ἐπιφανής, which Antiochus himself assumes on some of his coins (Head, *Hist. Num.* 641; Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Museum*, iii. pp. 44 ff., Nos. 21 ff.), and which means 'the God who manifests himself.' It seems Egyptian in origin (cf. above on Amenhotep IV., pp. 19 f., 24), and the first Greek monarch who assumed it was Ptolemy V. Of Antiochus IV., Macdonald *op. cit.* p. 41 says: 'Evidence of the divine honours accorded him in his lifetime is borne by his coins, not merely through the inscription (Nos. 21 ff.), but also through the appearance of stars on the diadem (Nos. 4, etc.), and through the idealisation of the head (Nos. 5, etc.).' It is Polybius who reports that he was nicknamed Epimanes (Pol. xxvi. 10, preserved in Athenæus x.). For further literature on the subject see Schürer, *Gesch.*(3) i. 192 f. *n.* 21, and add Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 252.

[2] Ἀφελῆ: Shuckburgh translates 'a good-natured, easy-going man.'

[3] His name stands the first of three magistrates on a coin of Athens described by Macdonald, *op. cit.* ii. 61, No. 96.

[4] Polybius, xxvi. 10; Athenæus, x. 63.

Daphne an extraordinary parade and festival.[1] Polybius also calls him an able general and worthy of the royal name.[2] He remembered his magistracy at Athens, and putting on a citizen's cloak he canvassed the Agora of Antioch for the offices of Agoranomos and of Demarch.[3] When elected he would give his decisions upon the market-cases with great zest. He mixed with the common people of his capital, and chattered on art with all the craftsmen. But he was also a heavy drinker,[4] and indulged in the oddest pranks. He joined in the horseplay of the public baths, and when he heard of parties of young people feasting together he would break in upon them, with horn and bagpipe, to their terror and instant flight. His freaks of favour and liberality were extraordinary: on some he would lavish gold, on others dice, dates, drenches of ointment.[5] In short, Antiochus IV. was a monster of impulses, with these additional dangers: that he never forgot he had a mission in life and was never out of need of money. The Roman world remembered him as the monarch who undertook to replace the superstitions of his Asian subjects by the gift of Greek manners,[6] and Polybius says that he sacrilegiously plundered most of the Temples within his reach.[7] His boisterousness and his piety, his equal zest for games and for civic

[1] Polybius, xxxi. 3 f. (Oxf. ed., 1823, iv. 118 ff.), preserved in Athenæus, v. 22-24, x. 53.

[2] xxvii. 17, Oxf. ed., Tom. iv. p. 40; xxviii. 18, in Shuckburgh's translation. Polybius excepts the bad tactics of Antiochus at Pelusium.

[3] Ædile and Tribune.

[4] Athenæus, x. 52, quoting the *Hypomnemata* of Ptolemy Euergetes II.; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iii. 186.

[5] The above description is abridged from Polybius, xxvi. 10, preserved by Athenæus, v. 21; cf. x. 52: Oxford ed. of Polybius, 1823, Tom. iv. pp. 15 ff.

[6] Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 8.

[7] xxxi. 4, in Athenæus, v. 24.

duties, testify to a nature saturated with the spirit with which he believed it to be his divine duty to infect his peoples. Alike in its lowest and its highest forms Antiochus Epiphanes was Hellenism incarnate, but Hellenism with its head turned and gnawed by a hunger for gold. He is reported to have died mad.[1]

If ever a nemesis were apparent in the history of men, it was so now, in the conjunction of this Greek monster with the Hellenising factions in Jerusalem. Having received an audience from Antiochus, Jason promised in return for the gift of the High-priesthood a large addition to the Jewish tribute, 440 talents of silver; and undertook to furnish 150 more if authority were given him to erect a Gymnasium in Jerusalem and to register the inhabitants as Antiochenes. Confirmed as High-priest, Jason 'forthwith brought over them of his own race to the Greek fashion.' He built the Gymnasium under the Akra, where it enjoyed the protection of the Greek garrison, but was near enough to the Temple to attract the younger priests by its summons to the game of the Discus.[2] He also caused the youths of priestly families and other young nobles to wear the Greek cap. 'And thus,' says the pious chronicler, to whom we owe these details,[3] 'there was an extreme of Greek fashions and the advance of an alien religion by reason of the exceeding profaneness of Jason, that ungodly man and no High-priest.' But in such measures Jason would not have succeeded without the influence of

Jason introduces Greek Fashions to Jerusalem.

[1] Polybius, xxxi. 11 (Oxf. ed., iv. 131). The more favourable view by Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, 181 ff., does not refer to the above data.

[2] It lay either in the Tyropœon or the Kidron Valley, probably on the same site on which Herod built his Hippodrome (see below, ch. xvii.).

[3] For all this paragraph see 2 Macc. iv. 7-22; cf. 1 Macc. i. 11-15.

a strong Hellenic party among the citizens, some welcoming the exhilaration of Greek life and some the intellectual power of Greek institutions.[1] Further, he sent to Tyre three hundred silver drachmæ, as the contribution of the now Antiochene citizens of Jerusalem to the sacrifices of Heracles or Baal-Melkart.[2] Antiochus visited Jerusalem and Jason received him magnificently. The wily King saw for himself the political situation. But, although doubtless after his manner he roistered with all the Hellenisers, he would be ignorant of the strong and still silent force of the opposite party.

In 171 another Tobiad, Menelaus, the brother of Simon,[3] was sent by Jason to Antioch with the annual tribute. He used his opportunity to secure the High-priesthood for himself, outbidding Jason by three hundred talents of silver! On his return to Jerusalem, bringing, says the historian, nothing worthy of the High-priesthood but having the passion of a tyrant and the rage of a beast, he drove out Jason, who fled across Jordan. Failing to furnish the increased moneys he had promised, Menelaus was summoned to Antioch along with Sostratus the Greek governor of the Akra, who was responsible for the tribute. On their arrival Antiochus was absent in Cilicia, and Menelaus bribed the deputy to kill Onias, while Lysimachus his brother, whom he had left in charge of his office in Jerusalem in order to supply him with money, laid unholy hands upon the golden vessels of the Temple. This sacrilege was too much for the common people, who

Menelaus supplants Jason.

[1] See above, pp. 393 f., 402 ff.
[2] Vol. i. Plate IX., Nos. 5 and 6.
[3] Vol. i. p. 399 *n.*

rose against the armed bands of Lysimachus, while the Senate sent three legates to Tyre to accuse Menelaus before the King.[1] By bribing certain officials Menelaus won the King to his side, and the legates were executed. 'Menelaus, through the covetousness of them that were in power, remained in office.'[2]

Occupation of Jerusalem by Antiochus, 170 B.C.

The factions at Jerusalem were still influenced by the rivalry between Egypt and Syria for the possession of Palestine.[3] In 170 Antiochus marched into Egypt, and upon a rumour of his death there, Jason with a thousand men took Jerusalem by surprise, and Menelaus threw himself into the Akra, which still had its Greek garrison. Antiochus, stung by this revolt, abandoned his unsuccessful campaign against Egypt, and in a frenzy marched on Jerusalem. He took the City, drove out Jason, and for three days delivered the population to massacre. Eighty thousand are said to have perished, but the number is doubtless exaggerated. Under the guidance of Menelaus the King presumed to enter the Temple, polluted the sacred vessels with his own hands, dragged down the offerings dedicated by other kings, and took his departure with one thousand eight hundred talents from the treasury.[4] He left Philip, a barbarous Phrygian, in command of the

[1] See vol. i. 392 f.

[2] 2 Macc. iv. 23-50.

[3] Josephus, i. *B.J.* i. 1:—Antiochus Epiphanes, quarrelling with Ptolemy VI. about his right to the whole country of Syria, a great sedition arose among the δυνατοί in Judæa. Onias (this is an error for Jason) having got the upper hand, cast the sons of Tobias out of the City, who fled to Antiochus. He took Jerusalem and slew many of the adherents of Ptolemy.

[4] So 2 Macc. v. 21; 1 Macc. i. 20 ff. says that he carried off the golden altar and candlestick, the table of shewbread, the plated gold and silver and the hidden treasures.

Akra and Menelaus as High-priest, 'who worse than all the rest exalted himself against his fellow-citizens.'[1]

In 168 Antiochus resumed operations against Egypt, but was presented by a Roman ambassador, Popilius Laenas, with a decree of the Senate forbidding him to make further attempts on that country. This was the first effective interference by Rome in the affairs of Egypt and Palestine; it secured the safety of the former, but it drove the energy of Antiochus to a more thorough Hellenising of the latter.[2] He sent Apollonius, one of his principal fiscal officers, into Judæa. Pretending peace, Apollonius took Jerusalem on a Sabbath, put a great number of the citizens to the sword, and strengthened the Akra with better walls and a larger garrison. The City walls were torn down, Jerusalem organised as a Greek city, and the worship of Greek deities enforced throughout the land at the point of the sword. The surrounding Greek populations were enlisted in the work. Circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath were forbidden. Jews were compelled to eat swine's flesh and to sacrifice to idols. But worst of all, in December 168, on the 15th Kislev of the 145th Seleucid year, a heathen altar was built on the site of the Altar of Burnt Offering, and on the

Capture and Devastation by Apollonius, 168 B.C.

[1] 2 Macc. v. 1-23; Jos. i. *B.J.* i. 1. As Schürer points out (*Gesch.*[3] i. 196 *n.* 30), the former account from Jewish sources displays more knowledge of the internal affairs of the Jews, the latter from Greek sources more of the wider political situation—the rivalry of the Ptolemies and Seleucids, the adherence of Menelaus and the Tobiads to Antiochus, the adherence of the rest to Ptolemy VI. The accounts are thus independent of each other, and the errors of Josephus (see p. 434 *n.* 2) explicable. Cf. the summary, 1 Macc. i. 16-28.

[2] Polybius, xxix. ii.; Diod. Siculus, xxxi. 2; Livy, xlv. 12; Appian, *Syr.* 66.

25th Kislev — how the exact dates were branded on the memory of the Jews!—sacrifices were offered upon it to Zeus Olympios. This was *the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet.* The finest buildings in the town were burned, and the walls, as of the town, so of the Sanctuary, were breached. The Temple itself was not destroyed, but stripped and 'filled with riotings and revels.' 'The Sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness.'[1]

[1] 2 Macc. v. 24-vi. ; 1 Macc. i. 29-64, iv. 38, 60 ; Josephus, i. *B.J.* i. 1 f., xii. *Ant.* v. 4 f.

CHAPTER XVI

JERUSALEM UNDER THE MACCABEES AND HASMONEANS

168-38 B.C.

FROM this point onwards it will not be necessary to treat the History with so much detail as we have hitherto devoted to it, for in our survey of the government and institutions of Israel we have had occasion to record[1] most of the events which determined the fortunes of Jerusalem under the Maccabees, the Hasmoneans, Herod and the Romans. We may confine ourselves to descriptions of the City and of the character of her population during those periods, with brief historical summaries where such are still needed. In the present chapter we begin with Jerusalem under the Maccabees (using this conventional term for Judas and his brothers)[2] and under the Hasmonean Kings and High Priests, from John Hyrkanus to Antigonus, whom Sosius slew in 37 B.C.

Plan of the Rest of this Work.

[1] Vol. i. Bk. II. chs. ix. and x.; cf. for the buildings of the walls, etc., Bk. I. ch. viii.

[2] The name Maccabee (Gr. μακκαβαιος or μακαβαιος, Syr. Maḳabî) is properly either the personal name or the title of Judas, and is confined to him till as late as Josephus. But the collector of the Apocrypha gave the plural form as the title of Four Books, dealing not only with Judas and his brethren and John Hyrkanus, but with all who acted or suffered with them (as well as, in 3rd Macc., with events before them), and from this the term Maccabees has come to be applied to all Jewish heroes and martyrs of the

Maccabean Jerusalem occupied virtually the same site within the same lines of fortification which we have traced for the time of Nehemiah:[1] that is to say, most of the East Hill and all the South-West Hill, with part of the North-West Hill and the Tyropœon valley. The West, South and East Walls still followed the natural lines of fortification above the encompassing valleys and across the mouth of the Tyropœon;[2] but the North Wall, the Second of Josephus, ran along an uncertain line from the present citadel to the rock at the north-west corner of the Ḥaram area, and thence on the southern slope of the tributary ravine to the Ḳidron, somewhere near the present 'Solomon's Throne.'[3] These limits represent approximately a circumference of 12,000 feet, or over twenty stadia.[4] If we include the northern suburb up

Maccabean Jerusalem: Its Size.

time. The meaning of the name is uncertain. It is usually taken from the Hebrew מַקֶּבֶת, *hammer*, and treated as a title bestowed on Judas after his numerous beatings of the Greeks. But neither its form (adjectival) nor the use of it in 1st or 2nd Macc. supports this idea. The latter rather suggests that it was given at birth to the son of Mattathias, in which case the possible derivations of it are many (whether from מקב or נקב). It is also doubtful whether it was originally spelt with a single or double ḳ (ק) for the Greek κκ sometimes stands for the Semitic k; and in Niese's ed. of Josephus the Greek is four times out of five spelt with a single k. See S. I. Curtiss, *The Name Machabee* (he derives it from כבה, *to quench*); Schürer, *Gesch.*(4) § 4 note 47; Niese, *Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*, 1; Fairweather, 'Maccabees' in Hastings' *D.B.*; C. C. Torrey, 'Maccabees (Family)' in *Enc. Bibl.* § 1; Winckler, *K.A.T.*(3) 304 (a mythol. origin of the name).—On the name Hasmonean, which properly covers the Maccabean brethren as well as the dynasty that Simon founded, see vol. i. 407 *n.* 3.

[1] Vol. i. 196 ff.

[2] Vol. i. Bk. 1. chs. i. f., vi.-viii. Timochares (see below, p. 439 *n.* 2), the biographer of an Antiochus, either IV. or VII., describes steep ravines on *every* side, which, of course, is wrong.

[3] Vol. i. 33 f., 200 ff., 243, 247 ff.

[4] If the stadium = 582 ft.

to the present wall we get nearly 16,000 feet, which is about the twenty-seven stadia stated for the perimeter of the City by Xenophon the topographer in the first century B.C.[1] But we should require to go out some distance upon the northern plateau in order to compass the forty and fifty stadia which are reckoned by other writers of the Greek period.[2] They have probably exaggerated. Even Josephus, after the Third Wall was built, does not venture on more than thirty-three.[3]

Apart from her suburbs the City thus covered an area of about three-fourths of a mile north and south by three-fifths east and west;[4] and consisted of three divisions, for the clear distinction of which in the records of the time we are prepared by her previous history: (1) the Town, or bulk of the City, generally called Jerusalem; (2) the Temple Mount, separately fortified; and (3) the Akra, or Citadel, which threatened and embarrassed, if it did not actually dominate, the Temple. and its Three Divisions.

One of the later Pilgrim-Psalms has praised Jerusalem

[1] Identified with the author of the *Triangulation of Syria.* Quoted by Alexander Polyhistor and Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* ix. 36; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iii. 228-9; Reinach, *Textes*, etc., 54.

[2] Hecatæus of Abdera, or the Pseudo-Hecatæus (quoted by Josephus, *C. Apion.* i. 22; Müller, ii. 392; Fr., 14; Reinach, 227 ff.), gives 50 stadia; the Letter of Aristeas (p. 538 of Thackeray's ed. in Swete's *Introd. to O.T. in Gk.*), 40, 'so far as one can guess.' The 40 stadia of Timochares (quoted by Alex. Polyh. and Eus. *Praep. Evang.* ix. 35; Müller, iii. 228; Reinach, 53) are apparently reckoned round the edges of the encompassing ravines. Even if the circuit be reckoned along the beds of the ravines, this does not give more than 30 stadia.

[3] v. *B.J.* iv. 2. See last sentence of previous note.

[4] More exactly, from the south-east angle of the City to the rock at the north-west corner of the Haram area, 4000 feet (nearly 1220 metres), and from the south-east corner of the Haram area to the outside of the present citadel 3200 feet (about 975 metres).

as *built like a city that is compact together*.[1] Such was also the impression which the town made on another visitor within our period. He says that 'the mould or form of the City is well-proportioned.'[2] Standing upon the Akra, which, as we shall see, lay on the East Hill, this observer had the bulk of the town before him on the South-West and North-West Hills, and with remarkable fidelity to their configuration he describes it thus: 'In the disposition of its towers and of the thoroughfares which appear, some below, some above, with the cross-streets through them, it has the familiar[3] aspect of a theatre.[4] For the ground is broken

1. The Town.

[1] Psalm cxxii. 3. The expression (a late Aramaic one) is taken by some in an ethical sense (*e.g.* Coverdale: *that is at unity with itself*, cf. the LXX.; and Duhm: *built like the city where they gather in one mind*), but the term *built* seems to shut us up to a material meaning for the phrase which is parallel to it. And so this is usually taken, though it seems true that the writer has in view rather the sense of physical compactness and proportion, as if *well-gathered together*, than that of recent and solid fortification. In Aramaic the root חבר is sometimes used in a physical sense: cf. Levy, *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, ii. 7 f.

[2] Τῆς δὲ πόλεώς ἐστι τὸ χύμα [cod. B. σχῆμα] συμμέτρως ἔχον: Letter of Aristeas, Thackeray's ed. in Swete's *Intro. to O.T. in Gr.* 538. In his translation (London: Macmillan, 1904) Thackeray renders 'the extent of the city is moderate,' but from what follows the above seems the more probable meaning of the original, though Thackeray's translation suits better a later use by the author of the same expression.

[3] Reading with Redpath (*apud* Thackeray) εἰθισμένως for εἰθισμένων.

[4] 'Thoroughfares,' διόδοι: 'cross-streets,' διεξόδοι. Thackeray (*Trans.* 24 *n.*) reverses these meanings, taking the latter to be the 'thoroughfares' (cf. xxii. 9) and the former to be the 'cross-streets' (cf. the LXX. addition to Jer. ii. 28). But the thoroughfares or main streets of Jerusalem which have persisted to the present day are those which alone could be described as appearing some above and some below, for they run from north to south of the City, whereas the cross-streets are those which descend at right angles to them. Besides, in Matt. xxii. 9, which refers to country roads, the main roads are ὁδοί, and the διεξόδοι, those which lead through and out of them. But the proof seems to me clenched by the stairs which are said to lead to the διόδοι: the stairs would mostly (though not altogether) be as to-day, towards the thoroughfares running north and south.

up, as the City is built on a mountain. And there are stairs towards the thoroughfares.' Another sentence seems to refer to that use of the housetops and roofs of lanes which was characteristic of Jerusalem. 'Some persons take their way above, others underneath; this distinction of travelling being chiefly on account of those who are undergoing purification, so that they may touch nothing improper.'[1] Thus the aspect of the City must have been what it has so constantly remained: the houses thickly packed, the main lines of street perhaps a little more visible than they are to-day; but with no conspicuous buildings, save the towers at the gateways and elsewhere round the walls. No palace nor citadel is noted by this observer looking west on the town from his point of vantage on the East Hill. But as to that we shall find a change under the Hasmonean kings, and especially under Herod.[2] As to the fortifications of the City—in distinction from those of the Temple and the Akra—we are left in doubt. We have seen that they were repaired to some effect by a High-priest Simon in the course of the third century.[3] That Jason required only one thousand men to take the town as distinct from the Akra, or that Apollonius easily captured it,[4] is no proof that

[1] The original indeed connects this sentence with what has gone before by γάρ; but this seems to be due to some confusion, because a person desirous of avoiding unholy contacts could as little effect his purpose on the higher as on the lower thoroughfares, and the higher were the further from the Temple. The other meaning given above seems the only possible one.

[2] This seems to me one proof of the early date of the Letter of Aristeas, or at least of the material embodied in this part of his work. Schürer assigns it on other grounds to about 200 B.C. If the author had written, as some maintain, in the first century B.C. or later, he could not have failed to notice the palace of the Hasmoneans and Herod's palace and citadel, as he looked west from the East Hill.

[3] Vol. i. 391; vol. ii. 386.

[4] Above, pp. 434 f.

the walls were poor or badly breached. There were other reasons for the ease with which these conquests were effected. None of the observers in our period, however, seems to have been so much impressed with the town's fortifications as he was with those of the Temple. Ben Sira, Hecatæus (or the Pseudo-Hecatæus) and the Letter of Aristeas say little, or nothing, of the City Walls, while they emphasise the strength of the Sanctuary.[1]

2. The Temple-Fortress.

The fortification of the Temple, for which it was so well adapted by its site, was inaugurated (as we have seen) by Solomon,[2] who, however, included also his palace and other government buildings. After the Exile the Second Temple was separately fortified long before the walls of the City were restored;[3] and, in the third century, one or other of the two High-priests called Simon not only increased its substructures and cisterns, but built a wall and bulwark round it: *in his days the Temple was fortified*.[4] Hecatæus, or his imitator, in describing Jerusalem, says:[5] 'About the middle of the City is a circumvallation of stone 5 plethra long by 100 cubits broad [about 485 feet by 145, or 172][6] with double gates.' The Letter of Aristeas, after stating that Jerusalem lies on a mountain in the middle

[1] Ecclesiasticus li. 4; Hec. or the Ps.-Hec. in *C. Apion.* i. 22; Letter of Arist. in Thackeray's ed., cf. p. 534 on the Temple with 538 on the City.

[2] Above, p. 69 f. [3] Above, pp. 310, 332, 335 f.

[4] Ecclesiasticus l. 1-4 (the Hebr. text in Schechter and Taylor; *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, pp. xlvi. and (19).

[5] In Josephus *C. Apion.* i. 22 (see above, p. 383) it must always be remembered that even if we have to do here with the work not of the real but of a Pseudo-Hecatæus, many of the details given were probably borrowed from the former.

[6] Taking the plethron at 97 Eng. feet and the Gk. cubit at 17½ inches. *Enc. Bibl.* col. 4942 takes the 5 pl. as 485½ Eng. ft. If the longer Egyptian cubit be meant the breadth is 172¼ Eng. ft.

of Judæa, proceeds: 'Upon the crest was built the Temple, of magnificent appearance; and the three encompassing walls, more than 70 cubits [120 feet] high, and of a breadth and length suitable to the House, the whole built off with unrivalled profusion and munificence.' It also describes the huge doorway of the House with the great curtain; the Altar of Burnt Offering of a size in keeping with the place, and with the number of sacrifices upon it; the House itself facing east; the sloping floors of the Court flushed with water from the marvellous and indescribable reservoirs below the surface, so that the blood of the sacrifices is swept away in the twinkling of an eye; and it adds the well-known report (which it gives us no means of verifying) of a copious natural spring within the precincts.[1] From all these testimonies—as also from the natural contours of the site—the separate standing and the fortification of the Temple are clear to us. The Second Temple was a fortress by itself, and its surrounding walls—said by the Letter to be three in number, though probably it includes the wall of the inner court—were apparently much more formidable than the walls of the City. The only calculation of the dimensions which is given[2] is at once striking and puzzling: the length, 485 feet, is approximately that, east and west, of the present platform round the Dome of the Rock, and is probably correct; nor does the breadth, 145 or 172 feet, seem inadequate when we remember that Solomon's Sanctuary was only 55 feet broad,[3] and that the Second Temple

[1] Thackeray's ed. in Swete's *Intr. to O.T. in Greek*, 534 f. On the question of the Temple Spring see vol. i. 85 f.; on the Temple reservoirs (which it declares extend for five stadia round the Temple foundations !), vol. i. 119 ff.

[2] Above, p. 442.

[3] Above, p. 62.

was doubtless built to the same scale. It is interesting to notice that if the 100 cubits which Hecatæus gives as the breadth of the Temple enclosure were Egyptian cubits (and therefore about 172 English feet), this is exactly the dimension which Ezekiel prescribes in both directions for his inner court.[1] In any case we must conceive of the Maccabean Temple and its courts as occupying at the most little more than the space of the present platform round the Dome of the Rock. All the rest of the Temple Mount, now masked by the level surface of the Ḥaram area, at that time steeply descended on its natural contours from the base of the Temple Walls, and was perhaps covered as in Nehemiah's day by the houses of priests and traders. Solomon's Palace and other government buildings had long ago disappeared. For what we have now to discuss about the Akra let us keep in mind that the Temple-fortress of this time did not in all probability extend more than 100 feet south of the Rock es-Ṣakhra.

3. The Akra.

The earliest notice of the Akra or citadel is the one preserved by Josephus: that it was occupied by an Egyptian garrison when in 198 B.C. the Jews welcomed Antiochus the Great to Jerusalem, and that they helped him to besiege it.[2] In the subsequent contests of the factions the Akra was garrisoned by Seleucid soldiers, and when Jason took the town by surprise his rival Menelaus, the creature of the Seleucids, fled to it for refuge.[3] Through all the Maccabean wars the Akra remained in Seleucid hands till Simon took it in 142. In the First Book of Maccabees the Akra is

[1] Ezek. xl. 47.
[2] Josephus xii. *Ant.* iii. 3; see above, p. 380.
[3] See above, p. 434; 2 Macc. v. 5-7.

described as fortified by *a great and strong wall with strong towers*, so that *it became a great trap, an ambush against the Sanctuary*;[1] its garrison were able to *shut up Israel in the holy places*;[2] and in order to blockade it Jonathan built *a great mound between the Akra and the City*.[3] Such passages assure us of the distinctness of the Akra both from the City and the Temple. Its Distinctness.

But when we try to fix the exact site of this citadel, difficulties arise and opinion is divided. By the author of First Maccabees the Akra is identified with 'the City of David,'[4] that is the earlier Jebusite stronghold of Ṣion. If we accept this identification the question is at once solved, for, as we have seen, the stronghold Ṣion lay on the East Hill, south of and below the Temple, or immediately above Gihon.[5] But both because some refuse to accept this position for Ṣion, and because even if all were convinced of the fact it would still be possible that by 100 B.C., the date of First Maccabees, the name 'City of David' had migrated from its original position to some other prominent point in Jerusalem, it will be best to investigate anew the evidence for the site of the Akra. Question of its Site.

Theories of the position of the Akra are almost as numerous as the writers who have devoted attention to the subject; and the mere statement of them will show the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of reaching a certain decision. We may select six of Various Theories.

[1] 1 Macc. i. 33, 35 f.; cf. Josephus xiii. *Ant.* vi. 7: 'a base from which the foe might assault Jerusalem'; and see on the whole subject above, vol. i. 157 ff.

[2] 1 Macc. vi. 18.

[3] *Ibid.* xii. 36.

[4] 1 Macc. i. 33; vii. 32; xiv. 36.

[5] Vol. i. Bk. 1. ch. vi.

the principal: three which place the Akra west of the Tyropœon and three which place it east of that valley. (1) Some, holding still that Ṣion lay on the South-West Hill, and accepting the identification of it with the Akra, find the site on that of the present citadel by the Jaffa Gate.[1] (2) Others place it on the lowest terrace of the South-West Hill just above the Tyropœon, opposite the south of the Haram area.[2] (3) Many, not less convinced that Ṣion lay on the South-West Hill, but refusing the identification of it with the Akra, place the latter on the North-West Hill, between the two branches of the Tyropœon, on an assumed rocky knoll east of the Holy Sepulchre.[3] Those who hold that the Akra lay on the East Hill are divided as to whether it was north or south of the Temple. Thus (4) some place it on the prominent rock at the north-west of the Temple area, where the Hasmonean Baris was erected, and afterwards Herod's Antonia, the site of the present Turkish barracks.[4] Of those who hold that it must have stood south of the

[1] Rückert, *Die Lage des Berges Ṣion*, 87 ff.; he further defends this position by arguing that the Akra lay on the periphery of Jerusalem.

[2] Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, etc., I. 29 ff.; Mommert, *Topogr. des alten Jerus.* ier Theil, 8es Kapitel; iver Theil, 6es Kap.

[3] Robinson, *B.R.* 410 ff., 567; *L.B.R.* 204 ff.; Warren, *Temple and Tomb*, 37; Conder, *Handbook to the Bible*, 346, and in Hastings' *D.B.* ii. 594; Henderson, *Palestine* (plan of ancient Jerusalem); Gatt, *Die Hügel von Jerusalem*, 45 f.; Tenz, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1906, 158 (*two* Akras, the second being south of the Temple), 1907, 290 ff.; Pierotti, *Jerus. Expl.*, appears to place it in the Tyropœon, west of the Haram wall.

[4] Thrupp, *Antient Jer.* 19 f., 178 f.; W. R. Smith, 'Jerus.' in *Enc. Brit.*(9), *Enc. Bibl.* § 27 i. ('presumably'); Wilson, Smith's *D.B.*(2) 'Jerus.' 1644; in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1893, 164 ff., he argues against Birch for the north site; cf. Nevin, quoted by Watson, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1907, 206. Rix, *Tent and Testament*, 226, suggests that the Akra rock was south of the present barracks, and was cut down to the present flat surface there, the rock on which the barracks stand being 'in fact a mere remnant of the Akra rock.'

Temple,[1] the most (5) equate it with the site which we have preferred for Ṣion, or 'the City of David,' immediately above Gihon, the present Virgin's Spring;[2] but recently (6) a site closer to the Temple has been suggested, on the natural surface between the Rock eṣ-Ṣakhra and the south Ḥaram wall.[3]

The Akra most probably on East Hill, south of Temple.

The ancient evidence is conclusive that the Akra lay near enough to the Temple to threaten, but not to dominate, the circumvallations of the latter (which we must remember ran on a lower level than the Temple and its inner court), and to harass both its defenders and those who came up to sacrifice. We have seen the testimony to this in First Maccabees.[4] We refrain from adding that of the Letter of Aristeas, for its date is uncertain, and what it describes may be not the Akra but the later Baris. We can, however, quote the evidence of Josephus. He says that the Akra was adjacent to the Temple, so that the garrison, by sudden sorties, could destroy those who came up to sacrifice;[5] and elsewhere he calls it the Syrians' 'base of attack' from which they could harass Jerusalem.[6] Such evidence excludes the position proposed for the Akra on or by the site of the present citadel, which is certainly too far away from the Temple.

[1] So first Olshausen, *Zur Topogr. des alten Jerus.* (1833), pp. 4 f.; see Robinson, *B.R.* i. 567.

[2] Birch, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1886, 25 ff.; 1888, 44 f.; 1893, 324; 1906, 157; Benzinger, *Hebr. Arch.*(1) 47; Buhl, *G.A.P.* 142; G. A. Smith, *Enc. Bibl.* 'Jerus.' § 27 iii.; Schürer, *Gesch.*(3) i. 198 f. *n.* 37; Masterman, art. 'Jerus.' in Hastings' *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.*

[3] Ch. Watson, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1906, 50 ff.; 1907, 204 ff.; Kuemmel, *Materialien zur Topogr. des alten Jerus.* 138 (he suggests it occupied the site of the Palace of Solomon, but reserves his argument).

[4] Above, p. 445.

[5] xii. *Ant.* ix. 3.

[6] xiii. *Ant.* vi. 7: ὁρμητήριον.

The sites proposed on the lower terrace of the South-West Hill, and on the North-West Hill below Calvary, are nearer. Though they are separated from the Temple Hill by the Tyropœon, a citadel upon either of them would overlook part, at least, of the wall surrounding the Temple Hill; and its garrison would be able by sorties to interfere with the approach of worshippers. But neither site agrees with the repeated statement of First Maccabees that the Akra was 'The City of David,' nor with the data of Josephus. His well-known description of Jerusalem, though of tantalising ambiguity, is most reasonably interpreted, in the light of other passages of his works, as associating the name Akra with the East Hill, south of the Temple area.[1] Here lay his Lower City in contrast to the Upper City on the South-West Hill, and separated from it by the Tyropœon 'which extended to Siloam.' Besides telling us that the Akra was built in the Lower City,[2] Josephus twice says that in

[1] v. *B.J.* iv. 1 describes Jerusalem as built on two hills divided by the Tyropœon, which 'extended as far as Siloam'; the higher and straighter hill sustaining the Upper City called the 'Upper Agora,' the lower and 'gibbous' (ἀμφίκυρτος) sustaining the Lower City called 'Akra.' These details suit the South-West, and the southern end of the East, Hills respectively. No one would have doubted this identification but for the addition that there was a third hill 'naturally lower than Akra,' and 'formerly parted from it by a broad valley.' Was this the Temple Summit, as distinct from the rest of the East Hill to the south of it? I agree with those who think it was, for as we have seen, there is a good deal of evidence that in O.T. times the East Hill after falling southward from the Temple summit rose into another separate elevation: Ṣion or The 'Ophel (*hump* or *swelling*; vol. i. Bk. i. ch. vi.). But in that case Josephus, writing of what had disappeared long before his time, was wrong in describing the Temple-summit as 'naturally lower' than it and dominated (xii. *Ant.* v. 4) by it. Those who maintain that the Upper Agora and Akra were the South-West and North-West Hills respectively, while the third hill was the East Hill, have to account for this fact, that in Josephus's own time the N.W. Hill was still separated by a valley, the Upper Tyropœon, from the East Hill.

[2] xii. *Ant.* v. 4.

his time the Lower City was called Akra;[1] while in another passage he connects the Akra with Siloam.[2] But such evidence is not only against the proposed sites on the South-West and North-West Hills; it is equally adverse to the site proposed on the East Hill north of the Temple, the rock on which the present Barracks stand, the site successively of the ancient Baris and Antonia. For this position is not in harmony with the statement that the Akra was 'the city of David,' and it lies too far from Siloam. Nor is it overlooked by the site of the Temple courts, as Josephus says the Akra rock was overlooked after this was cut down; nor can we conceive the Hasmoneans to have first reduced this rock and then raised a new Baris upon its site. On the whole, then, the evidence that the Akra stood on the East Hill and south of the Temple is stronger than the argument for any of the other sites which have been proposed for it.

Rival Sites south of the Temple.

We have still to inquire whether the Akra was so close to the Temple as both Sir Charles Watson and Herr Kuemmel have independently suggested, or whether it lay further south upon the site which we have selected for Ṣion or 'the City of David.'[3] Herr Kuemmel thinks that it occupied the site of Solomon's Palace, but reserves his argument for a future work. Sir Charles Watson's attractive theory implies that some five hundred feet south-east of es-Ṣakhra, the East Hill originally swelled up into another summit, forty feet higher than the Temple site, and that

[1] i. *B.J.* i. 4; v. *B.J.* iv. 1.
[2] v. *B.J.* vi. 1.
[3] See above, p. 445; cf. vol. i. Bk. i. ch. vi.

this summit was the position first of Ṣion, the Jebusite stronghold, and then of the Akra; when the Hasmoneans destroyed the latter and reduced the rock on which it stood, the material was cast into the Tyropœon valley and the south-west corner of Herod's Temple was built down through it, as the excavations of Sir Charles Warren have shown. Sir Charles Watson says that his conclusions appear to him 'compatible with every statement in the authorities';[1] but this is a claim which students of the ancient documents upon Jerusalem will hardly regard as a recommendation to any theory. In fact, however, his premises and conclusions do not agree with the data of the Old Testament and First Maccabees. For while Sir Charles Watson identifies the site of Ṣion, the Jebusite stronghold, with that of the Akra, he separates from, and puts to the south of, it, 'the City of David'; whereas (as we have seen) 'the city of David' is identified with Ṣion by the Old Testament and with the Akra by First Maccabees.[2] Nor is it clear how Sir Charles Watson would find room for the Palace and other government buildings of Solomon, which lay below and to the south of the Temple,[3] if the fortress Ṣion lay so close, as he suggests, to the site of the latter. Again, can we receive without question the statement of Josephus that 'the third hill,' which Sir Charles Watson accepts as the Temple-hill,[4] was 'naturally lower' than the Akra, when elsewhere Josephus himself informs us that the Temple was built on 'the highest level part' of the East Hill,[5] that is the highest part level enough to carry a

[1] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1906, 52.
[2] Vol. i. Bk. i. ch. vi.; vol. ii. 445.
[3] Above, p. 59.
[4] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1907, 209.
[5] v. *B.J.* v. 1; see above, p. 60.

building?[1] The whole theory requires for its establishment a wider as well as a more critical use of the ancient data. In our present ignorance of so much of the original surface of the East Hill no one will venture to say that there are no possibilities in the proposal; but at present it seems unworkable if we are to accept the evidence of the First Book of Kings and the Book of Jeremiah upon the Palace and other royal buildings.

While granting that there is still much uncertainty, I am inclined on the whole to adhere to the conclusions reached in the first volume of this work that the Akra occupied the same site as the ancient citadel, Ṣion, above Gihon, or the Virgin's Spring. This suits the repeated statement of First Maccabees that the Akra was 'the City of David'; though it is possible that, like that of Ṣion, the name 'City of David' had shifted between Nehemiah and the Maccabees. It suits the evidence of Josephus, for it places the Akra in closer connection with Siloam than does any of the other proposals. And it also agrees with the descriptions, in both those authorities, of the menace and danger which the Akra constituted towards the Temple and those who came up to worship. For while the position above Gihon lies further from the site of the Temple than the other proposed positions for the Akra on the East Hill — indeed it is nearly five hundred yards distant — yet it is clear that even at that distance a strong and well-garrisoned citadel,

Most probable Conclusion: Akra = Ṣion.

[1] Cf. also the testimony of the Letter of Aristeas that the Temple stood upon the crest of the hill on which Jerusalem was built; see above, p. 443. I do not quote in support the statement of 1 Macc. vii. 32 f., that Nikanor *went up* from the Akra to the Temple; for the Greek ἀνέβη may be used here in its technical sense of advancing with a hostile purpose.

upon an independent summit of the ridge such as rose here, before the Hasmoneans cut it down, was capable of doing all the mischief that the Akra is said to have done to the City and the Temple and the crowds which came up to the latter to sacrifice. We cannot fail to notice that Josephus emphasises this mischief as inflicted mainly by sorties from the Akra, which he calls 'a base of attack' against the Temple and the Town.[1] First Maccabees says that the garrison of the Akra were able to *shut up Israel in the holy places*;[2] but they would have as much difficulty in doing this if the Akra stood on any of the other proposed sites as if it stood on the site of Sion above Gihon. And it must be remembered that the garrison of the Akra held out against the Jews both of the Temple and the Town for many years. A position at some little distance from the Temple, and on the edge of the Kidron valley, better suits this fact than the position proposed by Sir Charles Watson. With the reservations, then, that we have still a great deal to learn from excavation, and that the historical data are far from conclusive, we may accept the opinion that the Akra most probably stood on the ridge of 'Ophel, somewhere above Gihon, upon a former summit which the Hasmoneans reduced to the level of the rest of the slope.

Throughout the Maccabean struggles these three parts of Jerusalem remain distinct: the Town, the Temple, and the Akra or Citadel. The condition in which each was left by the invasion and outrage of 168 B.C. is also clear. The Town was sacked and set on fire; *its houses and walls were pulled down on*

Effects of the Outrages, 168 B.C.

[1] See above, p. 447. [2] vi. 18.

every side; the inhabitants who escaped massacre and captivity fled to the wilderness; their places were filled by Greeks and apostate Jews, so that Jerusalem became *a habitation of strangers*, and *at the doors of the houses and in the streets they burnt incense.*[1] The Temple was *laid waste like a desert*; that is, while the sanctuary itself still stood, the priests were driven forth, the ritual ceased, *the priests' chambers were pulled down*, the courts and shrine were *profaned* by pagan feet, a Greek altar was built on the altar of burnt-offering, and sacrifices performed to the Olympian Zeus — *the appalling abomination*, as it is called in the Book of Daniel.[2] The Akra was re-fortified and more strongly garrisoned.[3]

For a time, therefore, the history shifts from Jerusalem

[1] 1 Macc. i. 31 f., 37 f., 54 f. When iii. 45 says that *Jerusalem was without inhabitant as a wilderness*, this is immediately explained as a reference to her own faithful people, *none of her offspring went in or out.* 2 Macc. v. 24 ff. describes the massacre.

[2] 1 Macc. i. 37, 39, 46, 54, 59; ii. 8 f., 12; iii. 45, 51; iv. 38; 2 Macc. vi. 2 ff. *The abomination of desolation.* (τὸ) βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως is the LXX. translation of Daniel's הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם (xi. 31) and שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם (xii. 11), either *the abomination that appals* or *the abomination that maketh desolate* (cf. viii. 13; ix. 27). The phrase *they builded it upon the altar* (1 Macc. i. 54) implies that it was the altar to Zeus, the βωμός, which the Greeks constructed upon the altar of burnt-offering, θυσιαστήριον (*id.* 59). Some, however, take it as an image of Zeus set on or by the altar. Nestle (*Z.A.T.W.*, 1884, 248) reads the name as a travesty of בַּעַל שָׁמַיִם, in Phœn. בעל שמם, the Semitic analogue of Zeus. (Bevan, *Daniel*, 193, quotes from *Bereshith Rabba* 4 a derivation of שמים from שמם, because men are *astounded* by it.) Bevan (*Journal of Hell. Studies*, xx., 1900, 26 ff.) conjectures that the worship was that of Antiochus himself as Zeus Olympius (2 Macc. vi. 7 ff.). Cf. above, p. 430 *n.* 1. Winckler (*K.A.T.*[3] 303 *n.* 2) takes שקוץ משמם for 'a distortion of אל משמם as a transcript of ἐπιφανής (as a "translation" of ἐπιφανής, "wonderful" or as re-echoing שֵׁם "Name," *i.e.* Incarnation; presumably with the design of indicating both).'

[3] 1 Macc. i. 33 ff.

to the country: the villages, from which the faithful were largely recruited,[1] the mountains,[2] and the surrounding wastes, always hospitable to the forces of revolt and religious reform. Israel fled to their ancient home and unfailing ally, the wilderness.[3] We have already followed, in that sympathetic air, the rallies of the faithful and their embattlement under Judas.[4] In addition, we need only emphasise the large spoil which fell to them from their four or five victories over the Seleucid forces.[5] Inspired, organised and enriched, they marched on Jerusalem and occupied the Temple Hill. No resistance was offered to them. The Greeks seem to have tired of abusing the sanctuary, for Judas and his men found the courts overgrown with shrubs. The whole was rapidly cleansed. The altar of Zeus was torn down and the materials stowed away till a prophet should arise to give directions regarding them. A new altar was built of unhewn stones, according to the Law. The courts were hallowed, and the sanctuary furnished with vessels, golden lamp, altar, and table of shewbread.[6] Incense arose once more to the God of Israel; and on the 25th day of Kislev, exactly three years from the date of its pollution, the

Restoration of the Temple, 165 B.C.

[1] 1 Macc. ii. 1, 15 ff. 70; iii. 8, 46, 56; 2 Macc. viii 1.

[2] 1 Macc. ii. 28.

[3] See vol. i. 451, 454.

[4] Vol. i. 400 ff.

[5] 1st, 166 B.C., between the Jewish frontier and the town of Samaria; 2nd, on the ascent of Bethhoron (1 Macc. iii. 10-26); 3rd, 165 B.C., at Emmaus with a pursuit to Gezer, Ashdod and Jamnia (iii. 38-iv. 27; 2 Macc. viii. 8 ff., which account Niese prefers); 4th, 165 B.C. (autumn), at Beth-ṣur (1 Macc. iv. 28-35). According to 2 Macc. viii. 30 there was still another previous to that over Lysias at Beth-ṣur, which is placed subsequently to the possession and purification of the Temple (2 Macc. xi. 1 ff.).

[6] See above, pp. 63, 307 f.

high altar of burnt-offering was rekindled and the legal sacrifices resumed. Mount Ṣion, which throughout First Maccabees is the name for the Temple Hill, was surrounded by high walls with towers. Judas, who had serious work awaiting him elsewhere, left in it some priests and a garrison, besides detaching a number of men to engage the Greeks in the Akra.[1] For the next twenty-two years Greeks and Jews faced each other from the walls of these fortresses hardly a quarter of a mile apart, the citadel of David and the Temple of Solomon. Nothing is said of the Town, which appears to have remained in possession of the Greeks and the apostates, protected by the garrison of the Akra.

Thus Mount Ṣion was not yet again the centre of Judaism, but only one of its two fortified posts, the other being Beth-ṣur. For a time the centre was Judas, and if he had a base this was still the wilderness. Up to his death and for some years after, the narrative significantly mentions no place, not even Mizpah, as the headquarters of the Jewish forces. There was indeed a land of Judæa, for which Judas and his brothers fought, over which they put deputies when they went on distant campaigns, and to which they brought back the Jews from Galilee and Gilead.[2] Within its uncertain frontiers[3] Jews built houses, cultivated fields, reaped harvests, and supplied the armies of Judas with the resources of war.[4] But

Its continued Isolation.

[1] 1 Macc. iv. 36-61. From this arose the Jewish feast of the Ḥanukah or Dedication. Wellhausen suggests (*Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* 210 *n.* 2) that the 25th Kislev or December was originally the feast of the winter solstice; 2 Macc. i. 9, x. 5-8; xii. *Ant.* vii. 7, *φῶτα*, 'Lights'; but *φῶς* was also used for 'joy' or 'deliverance.' John x. 22, *τὰ ἐγκάινια*.

[2] 1 Macc. v. 8, 18, 23, 45, 53, 55 ff., 68; vi. 5.

[3] See above, pp. 380 ff.

[4] iii. 56; vi. 49, 53.

even this narrow surface was crossed by lines of Greek posts, and contained communities sympathetic with Hellenism. When Judas returned from Gilead he celebrated Pentecost in the Temple.[1] In B.C. 163-2, when apparently the only fortifications he had were Mount Ṣion and Beth-ṣur, he laid siege to the Akra, raising *mounds to shoot from and engines of war*.[2] This, and not the occupation of the Temple, provoked the return of the Syrians. Lysias, the general in power, with the young king Antiochus V., invaded Judæa from the south, defeated the Jews at Beth-ṣur, and beleaguered the Temple. It was a Sabbatic year, and both Greeks and Jews suffered from the scantiness of supplies. The former were further embarrassed by their rivals in Antioch, the latter by the number of Jews from Gilead who had taken refuge with them. Peace was therefore concluded, with an engagement that the Jews should live under their own laws. But when they opened the gates of Mount Ṣion and the king saw the strength of the place, he broke his oath and ordered the walls to be pulled down.[3]

The general lines, which the history of Israel thenceforth pursued, have already been indicated;[4] we give here a summary only of such events as concerned the City. Nikanor's visit to the Temple is of interest, for it shows that the priests who held this were no longer in open confederation with Judas. Alkimus, the creature of the Greeks, was High-Priest and had gotten the mastery in Judæa; with him were the Ḥasidîm, content to have secured liberty of worship according to their own laws; Judas, in com-

Summary of events in Jerusalem, 162-142 B.C.

[1] 1 Macc. v. 54; 2 Macc. xii. 31 f.
[2] 1 Macc. vi. 18 ff.
[3] vi. 21-62.
[4] Vol. i. 402 ff.

mand of a remnant, still fought for national independence.[1] When Nikanor was slain, Judas could hang up his head and right hand beside Jerusalem.[2] But when Judas fell his brothers were driven back into the desert;[3] and Alkimus for the few months which elapsed before his death exercised his powers unthreatened. He attempted a daring innovation in pursuance of his Hellenising policy. The Temple had still but two courts: the inner, which Israelites, both priests and laity, alone could enter, and the outer, which was apparently open to Gentiles. Alkimus gave orders *to pull down the wall of the inner court*, so that there would have remained no barrier to the entrance of the Gentiles. The work was begun, but his death put a stop to it.[4] At last the Syrians retired, and Jonathan established a government at Mikmash.[5] In 153 he moved his residence to Jerusalem, and for the first time we hear of the Town as in possession of the Maccabees. Jonathan began to rebuild it, the separate fortifications of Mount Sion were restored, and only the Akra and Beth-ṣur continued to hold Greek garrisons.[6] About 146 Jonathan besieged the Akra, but failed to take it. Soon after he built a great rampart, which was designed to shut it off from the Town, and must therefore have run either on the east or on the west of the Lower Tyropœon with a

[1] 1 Macc. vii. 21-38. [2] vii. 47. [3] ix. 33 f.; above, p. 382 *n.* 1.

[4] 1 Macc. ix. 54-56; cf. Jos. xii. *Ant.* x. 6. The expression αὐλὴ ἐσώτερα implies *two* courts. In the Herodian Temple there were more, as we shall see. Some, holding this to have been also the case through the Greek Period, have supposed the τεῖχος, or wall, of the inner court to have been the Soreg of Herod's Temple, which a tradition in the Mishna (Middôth ii. 3) avers had been breached 'by the Greek kings' in thirteen places. But it is doubtful whether the Soreg existed at so early a time; besides, it was a mere barrier and not a τεῖχος.

[5] Vol. i. 403. [6] 1 Macc. x. 1-14.

continuation across the East Hill south of the Temple.[1] In 142 the blockade succeeded, and the starved garrison surrendered to Simon. We have seen how the rock on which the Akra stood, and which 'the City of David' and the Jebusite Ṣion had occupied before it, was cut down to the level of the rest of the ridge.[2]

The Hasmonean Princes—their Character and Circumstance.

The double office of High Priest and Ethnarch, with rights of coinage, in which Simon was confirmed by the dwindling authority of the Seleucids, received from his grateful people powers that were practically absolute, and under his successors developed into the formal and explicit rank of kingship.[3] 'A royal kind of men, but, at their best, not royal enough'[4]—this description of another brilliant but unhappy dynasty, also sprung from the liberators of their nation, sufficiently characterises the descendants of Simon. Embarrassed by their own discordant, perhaps incompatible, duties, and distracted between the two ideals which divided their people into the rapidly organising parties of the Pharisees and Sadducees, the Hasmonean princes took the line most natural to men of inferior character through such circumstance, and employed their hereditary vigour in large enterprises of conquest and aggrandisement, for which the weakness of Syria and the distance of Rome afforded them opportunity.[5] It was another of the many occasions we have

[1] Vol. i. 225. [2] Vol. i. 159 f. [3] As we have seen, vol. i. 404 ff.
[4] Carlyle, *Historical Sketches*, p. 3, on the Stuarts.
[5] Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 8: 'Tum Iudaei, Macedonibus invalidis, Parthis nondum adultis (et Romani procul erant) sibi ipsi reges imposuere. Qui mobilitate vulgi expulsi, resumpta per arma dominatione, fugas civium, urbium eversiones, fratrum, conjugum, parentum neces, aliaque solita regibus ausi, superstitionem fovebant: quia honor sacerdotii firmamentum potentiae assumebatur.'

had to note in the history of Israel, in which an outburst of national glory was due less to the vigour of her kings than to the temporary disablement of the empires about her. By their permanent conquests of Idumea, Galilee, and part of Samaria, by their campaigns in Gilead and Philistia, the Hasmoneans immensely increased the resources and the honour of their state; but it was their unscrupulousness, the barbarity of their warfare, their political crimes and savage family quarrels, which broke up the state and brought upon Jerusalem the arms and irresistible authority of Rome. The Hasmonean wealth was illustrated by the usual signs, large mercenary armies and a great revival of building.[1] Upon their capital the effects were immediate and permanent. Not only was Jerusalem generally strengthened and embellished; we see, in particular, two departures in her construction, which were destined to revolutionise the topography. A palace was built on the West Hill, and a citadel was raised on the north of the Temple to replace that which from the time of the Jebusites had stood to the south. The erection of these two buildings sharply divides the topography of the Old Testament and Maccabean Jerusalem from that of the Herodian, the Christian, and the Moslem City.

The Effects on Jerusalem and the Topography.

When Antiochus Sidetes received the surrender of Jerusalem from John Hyrkanus in 134 B.C.,[2] he overthrew part at least of the City's walls.[3] But so pro-

[1] Strabo (*apud* Jos. xiv. *Ant.* iii. 1) records that he saw in Rome the present which Aristobulus gave to Pompey a Damascus, an artificial 'vine or garden,' which was called Terpōlē or 'delight'; it bore the inscription, 'Of Alexander, King of the Jews,' and was valued at 500 talents.

[2] Vol. i. 408.

[3] Jos. xiii. *Ant.* viii. 3: the στεφάνη of the City which this passage says that he destroyed is not merely, as some take it, the crown of the wall, but is

sperous a prince as Hyrkanus, so vigorous a warrior and engineer, must speedily have restored them, and, indeed, we have an ancient testimony to this effect in the First Book of Maccabees.[1] Probably those portions of the southern City wall in which Dr. Bliss discovered fragments of Graeco-Jewish moulding are the work of John Hyrkanus.[2] His long years of peace, his use of the treasure found in the tomb of David, his rich spoils and many captives, endowed him with opportunities for building which none of his successors so fully enjoyed. We may therefore assign to him not only the particular buildings which Josephus describes as the work of the Hasmoneans, but that general embellishment of the City to which witness is borne by writers almost contemporary with his reign.

The Reign of John Hyrkanus, 135-104 B.C.

About the Baris or Castle there can be no doubt. Josephus expressly assigns it to Hyrkanus, and his earliest record of its use is under the next king,[3] Aristobulus, who caused his brother to be slain in a dark passage in one of its towers.[4] We cannot tell the size of the Baris; Josephus was familiar with it only after its enlargement by Herod. But we know that it lay on the rock, north-west of the Temple, now occupied by the Turkish barracks.[5] This had been the site of the towers Hammeah and Ḥananeel;[6] some maintain that the Syrian Akra also stood here, but that,

The Baris or Birah.

the technical term for the whole circumvallations. Other authorities are equally emphatic: Diod. Sic. xxxiv. 1; Porphyrius (quoted by Eusebius). See Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iii. 256, 712.

[1] xvi. 23.

[2] Vol. i. 216 f.

[3] xviii. *Ant.* iv. 3; cf. xv. *Ant.* xi. 4.

[4] xiii. *Ant.* xi. 2. The tower is called Straton's.

[5] xv. *Ant.* xi. 4: κατὰ δὲ τὴν βόρειον πλευράν.

[6] Vol. i. 201.

as we have seen, is very improbable.[1] The Birah of Nehemiah had been either the palace of Solomon or the whole fortified Temple Hill. The latter is the more reasonable hypothesis, and explains the limitation of the name Birah or Baris to the Hasmonean castle, which lay on the Temple Hill, and from the time of Hyrkanus became the real Temple citadel.

Besides the Baris there was a Hasmonean Basileion or Palace, the position of which is also clearly indicated by Josephus.[2] This occupied an elevation to the west of the Temple, close to the Xystus. It has been correctly located upon the middle terrace of the South-West Hill above the scarp,[3] whence it afforded a view across the Tyropœon to the Temple. Who built it we are not told. The earliest certain notice of it is that just cited, which refers to its enlargement by Agrippa II. But it may have been the house from which Alexander Jannæus, feasting with his women, watched the massacre of captives of war;[4] the palace occupied by Queen Alexandra,[5] and the residence of Hyrkanus II., from which he took refuge in the Baris and which he gave up to Aristobulus II.[6] It was connected with the Temple by a bridge, the earliest evidence for which is the account of Pompey's siege in 63 B.C.[7] This bridge cannot have existed in the Maccabean period when the

The Palace of the Hasmoneans.

[1] Above, pp. 446, 449.

[2] xx. *Ant.* viii. 11; ii. *B.J.* xvi. 3.

[3] Vol. i. 35; Robinson, *B.R.* i. 392 f. *n.*; Mommert, *Topog. d. alt. Jerus.* iv. 160 ff. None of the remains found here appear to be older than Crusading times; *P.E.F Mem.*, 'Jerus.,' 272 f.

[4] xiii. *Ant.* xiv. 2; 1 *B.J.* iv. 6.

[5] xiii. *Ant.* xvi. 2.

[6] 1 *B.J.* vi. 1. But see Mommert, p. 169: it may be that it was the Baris which Hyrkanus II. resigned to his brother, and the palace which he received in exchange.

[7] 1 *B.J.* vii. 2; xiv. *Ant.* iv. 2.

Temple was entirely isolated from the Town, but may, with the Palace, have been the work of Hyrkanus I. In any case the South-West Hill at last contained a public building directly connected with the Temple Courts. Which of the remains of approaches to the latter across the Tyropœon now represents the bridge we cannot say; probably something lower than those which, when complete, were on a level with the Temple Courts.[1]

John Hyrkanus and the High Level Aqueduct.

It has already been suggested that John Hyrkanus may have built the High Level Aqueduct.[2] In support of this there is some remarkable evidence from the period itself.[3] Besides a statement from a *Survey of Syria*,[4] that Jerusalem contained a spring with a copious jet of water, doubtless Gihon, there are two records of other streams and conduits. Timochares, the biographer of Antiochus VII., says that 'the whole city runs down with waters, so that even the gardens are irrigated by the water which flows off from it.' And the Jewish Philo, who wrote a poem on Jerusalem, describes, besides the spring, 'another most marvellous thing,' 'a powerful current filling a deep stream'; 'a high-shining stream winding among towers'; irrigating the thirsty dust; apparently high up and conspicuous from afar; 'headlong the conduits gush forth by underground pipes.' The construction of the lines is very obscure, but the epithets used suit the issue of the

[1] It is interesting that on undoubtedly ancient remains just outside the W. Haram wall (*P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.,' 200), the pilasters should have Ionic capitals of peculiar shape, the volute being something similar to that on one of the capitals found at Ṭobiah-Hyrkanus's palace at 'Arâḳ el-Emir. See above, p. 426.

[2] Vol. i. 129, 131.

[3] Handed down by Alex. Polyhistor of the first century B.C. through Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* ix. 35 ff.; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iii. 228 f.

[4] Τῆς Συρίας Σχοινομέτρησις. Above, p. 439 *n.* 1.

High Level Aqueduct, which entered the City from above on the west, as they do not suit either Gihon or Siloam. The fountain, too, is called that of the High Priest. The evidence, therefore, for assigning the High Level Aqueduct to Hyrkanus is considerable; and there appears to have been an ancient channel from the place, near which it probably entered the City walls, in the direction at least of the Hasmonean Palace.[1]

The only other structure mentioned in this period is the wooden barrier erected by Alexander Jannæus round the Temple and the Altar, after he was pelted by the people with citrons when serving at the latter. His purpose was to exclude the laity; and this is the earliest notice we have of an inner court open only to the priests.[2] The remarkable tombs in the Kidron valley, now called Absalom's and the Pyramid of Zecharias, belong either to the Hasmonean or to the Roman period.

Alexander Jannæus and a Temple Barrier.

Such were the changes which the Hasmoneans had effected on Jerusalem, when the quarrels of Hyrkanus II. and Aristobulus II., upon the death of their mother Alexandra (66 B.C.), broke up the dynasty, provoked the interference of Rome, and introduced to the centre of Jewish affairs a new and fateful influence in the person of Antipater, the father of Herod. The Roman sovereignty and this Idumean family remain the dominant factors in the history of the City till her fall in 70 A.D.[3]

The Break-up of the Hasmonean Dynasty.

[1] *P.E.F. Mem.*, 'Jerus.,' 270 f. [2] xiii. *Ant.* xiii. 5.

[3] For the rest of this chapter the authorities besides Josephus, xiv. *Ant.*, 1 *B.J.* vi.-xviii., with his various excerpts from writers of the first century B.C. (for which see Reinach, *Textes*, 77 ff.), are the *Psalms of Solomon* (Ps. of

After a reign of three months Hyrkanus resigned the kingship to Aristobulus. But Antipater, perceiving his opportunity with so facile a character, convinced Hyrkanus that he was still in danger of his life, and persuaded him to appeal to Aretas (Ḥarîth III.), King of the Nabateans. In the end of 66, or the beginning of 65, a Nabatean army marched into Judæa, and after defeating Aristobulus was reinforced by a large number of Jews who, under the influence of the Pharisees, sympathised with Hyrkanus. As the Nation was divided, so also the City. Aristobulus shut himself up in the Temple Mount with the priests and probably the chiefs of the Sadducean party. Whether he also held the Baris is not stated, but is probable. The rest of Jerusalem was occupied by the supporters of Hyrkanus and the Nabateans. The siege lasted some months. When the Passover came round, the besieged begged from their countrymen animals with which to celebrate the feast. After putting an enormous price on each of these, and receiving the money, the besiegers treacherously refused to fulfil their engagement.[1] It is a welcome relief to so sordid a story when Josephus tells us that the holy Onias, brought by the besiegers to bless their arms, uttered instead this noble prayer: 'O God,

The Nabatean Siege, 65 B.C.

the Pharisees), text and translation, by Ryle and James, Cambridge, 1891; Diodorus Siculus, xl., second fragment; fragments in Cicero, Livy, Plutarch's *Lives*, and Appian alluded to below; Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 9); Dion Cassius, xxxvii. 15 ff.; xxxix. 55 ff.; xli. 18; xlvii. 28; xlviii. 26, 39 ff.; xlix. 19 ff. (ed. Sturzius, vols. i. f.). Modern works: besides the histories already cited for the Greek period, the student will find a valuable and accurate guide in *The Jews under Roman Rule*, by W. D. Morrison ('The Story of the Nations' Series): London, Unwin; New York, Putnam, 1890.

[1] Cf. the account of the generous behaviour of Antiochus VII. in the siege of 135 B.C., xiii. *Ant.* viii. 2.

Ruler of all men, since these standing with me are Thy people and the besieged are Thy priests, I pray that Thou wilt hearken neither to those against these, nor bring into effect what these beseech against those.' The enraged Hyrkanians immediately stoned him to death.[1] This Onias, of whom we know nothing else than his power of prayer, is thus worthy to stand in the ranks of the City beside Isaiah and Jeremiah. The prayer was answered through one of those sudden and incalculable events which so often, in the history of Jerusalem, have overruled the rage of her factions or her foes and vindicated the faith of her purer minds—sometimes, as apparently in this case, beyond all their anticipations. Soon after the Passover the siege was raised not by force of arms, but by the sudden menace of Rome. Pompey, then with his legions in Armenia, had despatched southwards a force which took Damascus. Thither he now sent Marcus Scaurus, who, hearing of the troubles in Judæa, came on to judge the situation for himself. Aristobulus and Hyrkanus both offered him money; but, adds Josephus, Aristobulus was the more able to pay; and besides, 'to take by force a city specially fortified and powerful, was a different thing from expelling fugitives and a multitude of Nabateans who were not much disposed to war.'[2] Scaurus commanded Aretas to withdraw, on pain of Rome's hostility, and Aretas yielded. It was a repetition of what happened in the case of Antiochus IV.[3] The word of a Roman legate altered the history of Syria.

When Pompey, after his conference at Damascus with the rival princes,[4] marched on the Nabateans, he learned that Aristobulus, anticipating a decision adverse to

[1] xiv. *Ant.* ii. 1. [2] *Id.* 3. [3] Above, p. 435. [4] Vol. i. 410 f.

himself, was preparing to resist it. He therefore turned into Judæa, and having secured Jericho, advanced on Jerusalem. On the way he was met by Aristobulus with his submission, and sent forward Gabinius to receive the surrender of the City. This was refused, and Pompey appeared in force before the walls. The supporters of Hyrkanus admitted him to the Town and the Palace;[1] but those of Aristobulus who occupied the Temple[2] cut down the bridge over the Tyropœon and prepared for a siege. Pompey pitched his camp to the north of the Temple,[3] where the assault was most practicable. Even here 'were great towers and a ditch had been dug,' which Strabo defines as 250 feet broad by 60 deep.[4] Pompey filled the ditch with a bank, that might never have been completed but for the inactivity of the defenders on the Sabbath. Across this bank he rolled his engines and battering-rams from Tyre, and so breached the Temple wall that at last, after a blockade of three months, it was taken on a Sabbath,[5] and the Romans poured into the courts. The priests, who had never remitted their ministrations, were cut down in the

Pompey's Siege and Conquest, 63 B.C.

[1] Dion Cassius, xxxvii. 16; Josephus, xiv. *Ant.* iv. 2; cf. *Ps. of Solom.* viii. 18 ff.

[2] Josephus does not mention the Baris, but, as the adherents of Aristobulus already occupied it, it was included in the Temple (Ewald otherwise, *Hist.* v. 400, but he confounds the Baris with the Basileion or Palace on the South-West Hill). Dion Cassius also mentions only the Temple as occupied by Aristobulus: 'for it lay on a lofty place and was fortified by walls of its own.'

[3] Josephus, xiv. *Ant.* iv. 2, adds ἑωθεν ('at dawn'); so Niese's text. The Latin reads *mane*. Some MSS. read ἐσωθεν, which Whiston translates 'within [the wall],' meaning the wall which Pompey is said to have built round the Temple Mount. The present east wall north of the Temple Mount was not built till the time of Agrippa; vol. i. 238 f., 244 ff.

[4] *Geog.* xvi. 40.

[5] Ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, Dion Cassius, xxxvii. 16. Strabo and Josephus call it a fast-day. *Ps. of Solom.* ii. 1: 'cast down strong walls with a ram.'

act of sacrificing. Pompey penetrated to the Holy of Holies, and saw that which was unlawful for any but the High-priests to see; yet he touched nothing of all the valuable furnishings and treasure of the sanctuary, 'on account of his respect for religion, and in a manner worthy of his virtue.'[1] The empty shrine impressed the Romans as it had impressed the earlier Greeks. 'Inde vulgatum,' says Tacitus, 'nulla intus deum effigie, vacuam sedem, inania arcana.'[2] Having destroyed the walls of Jerusalem, restored the High-priesthood to Hyrkanus, and arranged for the administration under Scaurus, Pompey went away to his triumph, carrying captive Aristobulus and his sons. 'Noster Hierosolymarius,' Cicero calls him[3]—in the year of whose consulship the City thus suffered its first Roman occupation.

The other critical events in Jerusalem before the last of the Hasmoneans was deposed and Herod became king in fact as well as by the authority of Rome, are these: a momentary seizure of all the City save the citadel by Alexander, the son of Aristobulus; the spoliation of the Temple by Crassus in 54 B.C.; Cæsar's confirmation of Hyrkanus as High-priest, and appointment of Antipater as procurator, with licence to restore the walls of Jerusalem; the conquest of the City, in 40, by the Parthians, who drove out Herod and established as king Antigonus, the other son of Aristobulus;[4] the siege and storming of the City, in 37, by the combined forces of Herod and of Sosius, the representative of Mark Antony. Josephus says that on this occasion no fewer than eleven legions, with six thousand

Events in the City, 63-37 B.C.

[1] Jos. xiv. *Ant.* iv. 4; Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 67; but cf. *Ps. of Solom.* ii. 2.
[2] *Hist.* v. 9. [3] *Ad Atticum*, ii. 9. [4] Vol. i. 412.

horsemen and a number of auxiliaries, encamped against Jerusalem, which appears to have been wholly one in resisting Herod. As in all other cases, so in this, the assault was delivered on the north. The outer wall took forty days to carry, the inner fifteen more. The defenders concentrated in the Temple, but had to yield its outer court, parts of the cloisters of which were reduced to ashes. In the 'Upper City'[1] and the inner court of the Temple, the besieged held out for some time longer. At their request, Herod gave them beasts to sacrifice, thinking the request indicated their speedy surrender. But they persisted, and their obduracy embittered the besiegers to great cruelty. In the end the refuges were stormed, and a terrible slaughter ensued. Herod, who did his best to restrain the excesses of the Romans, was master of the City. The last of the Hasmonean kings was carried away by Sosius and put to death.[2] Herod became King of the Jews in fact as well as by title of the Roman authority.[3]

[1] One wonders if Josephus employs this term in the meaning he usually gives to it. If so, the defenders held two separated parts of the City. But it seems as though by the 'Upper City' he here meant the Baris.

[2] Vol. i. 412. For the exact date of the siege, summer 37 B.C., see Schürer, *Gesch.*(3) i. § 14 *n.* 11. It was a Sabbatic year, says Josephus.

[3] For the siege described above, see xiv. *Ant.* xvi.

CHAPTER XVII

HEROD, THE ROMANS AND JERUSALEM
37-4 B.C.

IF the title Great be ever deserved by the cruel and the unjust, history has not erred in granting it to Herod the son of Antipater. His father had dared for him a name, the full spelling of which is 'hero-id,' and not all his crimes, which have turned it into a proverb of ferocity, can obscure the power that was in him to rise to the challenge it rang out.[1] That Herod was great in all but goodness, and had a nature capable at least of explosions in that direction, is manifest upon the mere summary of his fortunes and achievements. Josephus writes of the 'high-mindedness'

Herod the Great.

[1] Ἡρώδης: so Niese throughout his ed. of Josephus; 'idem est quod Ἡρώνδης, siue Ἡρώνδας, quare iota non patitur' (Pref. to vol. iii. p. vii.). But the Cod. Ambrosianus of Josephus's works reads Ἡρώιδης, and Westcott and Hort in their N.T. give Ἡρῴδης, with the iota subscript: it 'is well supported by inscriptions and manifestly right' (ii. 314). For example, Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines recueillies en Grèce et Asie Mineure*, iii. No. 3 (2364; cf. *H.G.H.L.* 618). So also Schürer, *Gesch.*[3] i. 375 *n.* 20. The coins of H. naturally omit the iota. The name occurs as early as the fifth century B.C., and contemporary with H. the Idumean was an Archon H. in Athens; Cicero (*ad Att.* II. ii. 2, etc.) mentions an Athenian H. as the teacher of his son. Other Greek instances occur. There is no possibility of a Semitic derivation for the name. The Talmudic הוֹרְדוֹס is clearly a transcription of the Greek. An adjective from the name was applied to tamed pigeons! Levy, *Chald. u. N. Hebr. Wörterbuch*, i. 491.

of his youth, and the worst his enemies could then say of him was that 'he was forcible, daring, and ambitious of absolute power.' At twenty-five, by his own energy he swept the robber-ridden Galilee free of its pests, so that 'the villages and townships sang songs in his praise.' For this he had to answer to the Sanhedrin; and the character of these authorities at Jerusalem may be seen from their intention to try him on the capital charge, because the brigands whom he exterminated were Jews! Instead of appearing before them, like other accused persons, with hair dishevelled and in black, Herod came 'in purple, with his hair finely trimmed,' and with his guards about him; so that his judges were all silenced except Sameas, who predicted the day when the young soldier would have them in his power. His contempt for the sophistries and false patriotism of these pedants is one of his most characteristic tempers. Indeed all his valour, though it often seemed reckless, was inspired by an accurate knowledge of men, a strong grasp of circumstances, and an unfailing assurance of his abilities and of other men's need of them. His skill in the art of war was not less conspicuous. He sustained the severest proofs of generalship, winning battles against heavy odds, and rallying a beaten army to victory. The worst defeats left him unbroken and elastic; men stood amazed at his courage under disaster and his resources of recovery. When his ambitions of conquest were frustrated, he fell back on reducing to order the territory already in his possession, and won new moral influence which rendered possible the conquest he had only postponed. When the powers he had espoused were defeated, he knew how to make himself necessary to the victors.

His personality—or his eloquence—prevailed alike with his soldiers, though on the verge of mutiny; with his turbulent people, though his policy outraged their most sacred convictions; and with the successive lords of his world, though he had previously intrigued or openly fought against them. Josephus, who never writes with greater effect—because never with more insight and discrimination—than when Herod is his subject, convinces us that it was the sheer ability of the man, working in very various directions, which stunned his foes and kept about him through all the uncertainties of his time a group of devoted and capable servants—besides that wider Herodian party among the people which even after his death and the removal of his sons from Judah continued to believe that his dynasty was indispensable to the nation. There has seldom been a more thorough master of the forces of disorder; or, considering his means, a more ready financier and energetic builder; or, when he liked, a better administrator. The methods by which he overcame the emergencies of the famine and pestilence of 25 B.C. were altogether admirable, and succeeded in restoring for a time that popular trust in him which his exactions and his crimes had shattered. Had Herod lived when his world was open, he would have been among the greater kings of the East, and might have proved a famous, if a transient, conqueror; for he had the imperial vision, and while conscious of the value of his people's patriotism and able to sway it, he was not embarrassed by merely national ideals. As it was, he understood and used for his own ends every limit which the Roman dispensation imposed on his career. But, whether he derived it from his father, who was a good

man and a strong governor, or whether he learned it from the example of Rome, Herod had at heart the fundamental sense of order, and it was his ability to create order in very difficult circumstances which, in spite of his breaches of the Jewish law and the care of Rome to ensure its enforcement, commended him to one after another of her representatives. For nothing else than because he was the strong man of the East, Sextus Cæsar supported him in his youth against the Sanhedrin, and Augustus committed to him in his prime the wild provinces beyond Jordan. Yet he did more than persuade each of the masters of Palestine that he was necessary to their policy. His capacity for winning the friendship of the greatest Romans of his day is as striking as his power to withstand the temptress to whom more than one of them succumbed. Cæsar, Sextus Cæsar, Cassius, Antony, Augustus and Marcus Agrippa, Herod knew how to charm them all; and he baffled the intrigues as well as resisted the fascinations of Cleopatra herself. His secret is clear. He read men through and through. Thus he bribed Mark Antony, but showed himself a frank and magnanimous soldier before Augustus. Never had prince more tragic dissensions in his family or more dangerous conspiracies among his people; yet it is remarkable how often his troubles at home culminated along with some fresh success of his influence upon the Roman authorities; and if he had done nothing more than keep the balance between the demands of his lords that he should introduce a western civilisation to Judæa, and the demands of his people that he should keep it out,—because every constructive act to which he was obliged provoked the suspicions of the one or of the other—his ability would

still have claims upon our admiration. He has been likened to several eastern princes who have played the same arduous part between a fanatic people and an aggressive foreign civilisation, for which they had more or less sympathy. Perhaps the nearest analogy is that of Ismail, Khedive of Egypt: on the one side with the intellectual centre of Islam in his capital, with so many violent deaths among his family and courtiers and with so cruel an oppression of his peasantry; and on the other side a lavish finance, enormous public works after the western fashion, a western theatre, fêtes for European magnates, numerous palaces, and even the introduction of statues in defiance of the precepts of his people's religion. On all these points the parallel is complete.[1] Only, Herod's reign did not prematurely close in bankruptcy. Nothing stopped his flow. The careers of great men have been likened to rivers. Herod was more: he was a tide, whose inevitable ebb came only after his death. The volume and the spaciousness of his success were extraordinary. He quelled every sedition among his people; swayed every institution; in turn provoked and mastered every interest. Though not by race a Jew, he impressed himself on the fabric of the Jewish religion, as hardly any native ruler had done since Solomon; and he founded a dynasty which endured, more or less, till the state itself disappeared. He covered his land with buildings, and gave to its inhospitable coast the one harbour which this ever possessed. But his generalship and his munificence spread also abroad. Besides his

[1] I do not know if the parallel has been drawn before. It occurred to me as I stood in the Khedivial Mausoleum at Cairo, where to so many of the tombs a tragic story is attached.

successful conduct of Roman armies over the sands between Judæa and Egypt, he tamed the Arabs of the Lejá, rendered possible a large population in Ḥauran, and assisted in the erection of many public buildings, the remains of one of which, near the borders of the desert, still testify to his work as the pioneer of civilisation in that region.[1] He poured gifts upon the Phœnician towns, Damascus and the Syrian Antioch, many cities of Asia Minor, Athens, Sparta and Nicopolis; and by his liberal endowments revived the splendour of the Olympian games. The influence which he thus earned he exerted loyally on behalf of the Jews of the Dispersion, and succeeded in securing their rights as well as additional privileges to many of those communities. But with all that he did for Judaism Herod had no religious convictions. He sprang from a race notorious for their irreligion, and though he patronised the faith of Israel, the people were never really deceived by him. The hands that gave the gifts might appear to be those of Jacob, the heart behind was Esau's from first to last. And, therefore, just because he was without either faith or a national enthusiasm, he was obliged to maintain his position by a series of unparalleled crimes. His passions were never controlled except, as in his dealings with Cleopatra, by barriers of policy; and being indulged they soon broke through even these in a series of blunders which forced him to fresh outrage. They turned his own house into a cage of beasts, into a slaughterhouse. He had married Mariamme out of mere ambition, and she tortured him with her contempt for his family; his wild nature came to conceive for her a brutal affection, and she repulsed it

[1] See *H.G.H.L.* 617 f.

with reproaches. Her murder was the inevitable resource of such a nature so baffled; and his remorse, one of the most terrible in history, derives its horror from being less a sense of guilt than the hunger of a balked passion, with perhaps the exasperating recollection that he had slain the queen who alone lent an appearance of legitimacy to his usurped position. Of his next marriage with another Mariamme, a woman of great beauty, Josephus says that 'he suffered not his reason to hinder him from living as he pleased'; and this new passion also had its woes to work. The crowded crimes of his last years were all either the direct consequences of these passions, or due to the sense of his own danger. Herod never started a religious persecution; but he filled his prisons as full, he indulged in as wide a carnage for his own interests, as ever any fanatic in the remorselessness of a holy war. In all this the similitude we have suggested for him is still deserved. His storms were like the storms of the sea; their wreckage strewed every coast he rose upon. One cannot estimate the individuals, the families, the circles and hosts of men who disappeared in his cruel and relentless depths.[1]

[1] For the career of Herod the sources are Josephus xiv.-xvii. *Ant.*, and 1 *B.J.* vi.-xxxiii. Josephus largely uses, but with criticism (especially when Herod is in question), the *Histories* of Nicolaus of Damascus, Herod's younger contemporary and confidant (for these and other fragments of Nicolaus see Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iii. 348 ff.). There is no reason to doubt the accuracy and justice of Josephus's accounts of Herod. The passages I have found most enlightening, as to the latter's character and the extraordinary difficulties which it mastered, are xiv. *Ant.* ix., xiii f.; xv. *Ant.* iii., iv., v. 2 f. 5, vi., vii., viii., ix. 2 f., xi. 1; xvi. *Ant.* v., vii. f., x. f.; xvii. *Ant.* i. v.-viii.; xix. *Ant.* vii. 3. The title Great is given by Josephus to Herod only in xviii. *Ant.* v. 4, and may be interpreted as simply used to distinguish him from others of the same name. So Schürer (*Gesch.*[3] i. 418), who holds that it can only be justified in that relative sense, and quotes with approval Hitzig's remark that Herod 'was only a common man.' But as I have tried

The methods by which Herod governed Jerusalem have already been sketched;[1] and the principal events of his reign may now be briefly summarised. Upon his capture of the City in 37 B.C., there followed that execution of the adherents of Antigonus which cost the Sanhedrin more than half its members. Herod had connected himself with the Hasmonean house by marrying Mariamme,[2] a granddaughter of Hyrkanus II. At the instigation of her mother, Alexandra, he appointed his wife's brother, Aristobulus III., High-priest (35 B.C.); but finding the young prince dangerously popular, he is said to have arranged for his death, which took place treacherously in the bath at Jericho. Henceforth Herod's nominees to the

Summary of Events in his Reign.

to show, his record as a soldier, his instincts and powers of order, the maintenance of his position against his own people, his management of the great Romans of his time, or (if this be too strong a phrase) his convincing them of his indispensableness to their policy, his numerous enterprises, his grasp of emergencies and occasional feats of sound statesmanship, raise him far above 'the common man.' Cf. the higher estimates of Ewald, *Hist.* v. 418 f.; and Headlam, *Enc. Bibl.* The references to him in Greek and Latin writers are not very numerous, but sufficient to show that he had impressed himself on the mind not only of his own, but of the succeeding, age. Horace alludes to his palm-groves at Jericho (*Ep.* ii. 2, 185). Josephus quotes one reference from Strabo's Τπομνήματα (xv. *Ant.* i. 2; Müller, iii. 494); and in the latter's *Geogr.* there are two references, xvi. 34, 46. The second runs: 'Herod, a man of the country, having usurped the high-priesthood (!) so excelled his predecessors through his friendly relations with Rome and his government, that he even became king, first Antony and then Augustus granting him the power.' Persius calls the Sabbath by his name: 'Herodis dies' (*Sat.* v. 180). By Appian (*Bell. Civ.* v. 75) he is entitled King 'of the Idumeans and Samarians.' To Dion Cassius he is only 'a certain Herod,' to whom Antony conveyed the government of the Jews (xlix. 22, ed. Sturzii, ii. 120), and Augustus the tetrarchy of Zenodorus (liv. 9, ed. St. iii. 262). Cf. Plutarch, *Anton.* 61, 71 f.; Pliny, *H.N.* v. 13; Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9. A saying about Herod is attributed to Augustus (Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, II. iv. 11): 'Mallem Herodis porcus esse quam filius,' but the original was probably Greek with a pun upon ὗς and υἱός.

[1] Vol. i. 412.

[2] So, and *not* Mariamne.

sacred office were from families as far removed as possible from the legitimate succession; none of them was even a Palestinian Jew.[1] In 34 he visited Antony at Laodicea, and succeeded in persuading his patron that he was innocent of the murder of Aristobulus. The same year Cleopatra came to Jerusalem and tried her charms upon the still handsome king. He wanted to kill her, in the hope of freeing Antony from her toils and himself from her spite; but his counsellors dissuaded him, and the only result was that he undertook the campaign against the Arabs, by which she hoped to get rid both of him and their king. Herod was saved by this engagement from the necessity of taking arms against Octavian, and at the same time won fresh fame through his defeat of the Arab forces. In 31 a great earthquake shook Judæa;[2] and later in the same year the battle of Actium transferred the Roman power in the East, and Herod's allegiance, from Antony to Octavian. In 30 Herod made his peace in person with the latter at Rhodes, and was confirmed in his kingdom. In 30 the aged Hyrkanus, in 29 Mariamme, and a little later Alexandra, were executed. Herod received accessions of territory, and rebuilt Samaria as a Greek town under the name of Sebastē.[3] There followed the most prosperous years of his reign: his buildings in Jerusalem, his construction of Cæsarea,[4] and the extension of his territory by Augustus over Trachonitis, Auranitis, Batanæa, and in 20 over the domains of Zenodorus. In 25 a famine fell on Judæa, and Herod organised vigorous measures of relief. About

[1] Cf. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 24.
[2] See vol. i. 64.
[3] *H.G.H.L.* 139 f.
[4] *Ibid.*, also 348.

22 he visited Marcus Agrippa at Mytilene, and about 18 he went to Rome. In 15 Agrippa came as his guest to Jerusalem and sacrificed in the Temple. The next year Herod returned the visit in Asia Minor. Then began his troubles with his two sons by Mariamme, and they dragged on (with visits to Rome in 12 and 10) till he had the princes strangled in 7 B.C.[1] A couple of years later he imprisoned his eldest son Antipater, and in 4 B.C. came the revolt of the rabbis in Jerusalem;[2] Antipater's execution; the final testament appointing Archelaus as successor to the kingdom of Judæa and Antipas and Philip to tetrarchies over the rest of the territories; and Herod's death.[3]

Before we consider the details of Herod's work in Jerusalem, it is necessary to form an idea of the changed world in which the City lay since the advent of the Roman power, and to which her life, largely by Herod's instrumentality, rapidly adapted itself. The last great change we have had to note in Israel's world came with the conquests of Alexander and the division of his Asiatic empire among the dynasties founded by his generals. The centre of politics and culture moved from its ancient Oriental seats into the West. The fortunes of Palestine were decided by Greek minds, and not only upon the soil of Asia but out on the Mediterranean. Trade and mental intercourse increased rapidly with the West, and in a limited degree with the far East as well. The horizons of Israel were immensely widened. The intellectual sympathies of the nation were

The Roman World of Israel.

[1] Vol. i. 443 ff.

[2] Vol. i. 445.

A most useful chronology of the reign, with footnotes, is given by Schürer, *Gesch.*[3] i. 360 ff.

engaged by a culture utterly different from that which had previously influenced them. There was a new and enormous Jewish dispersion. Jerusalem became the seat of a far-spread spiritual empire.[1] Now Rome did not materially widen those horizons. Unlike the Phœnicians and the Greeks, the Romans were not explorers. But they gave peace to the world, whose extent the enterprise of their predecessors had made known, and by their thorough administration they multiplied its commerce and its wealth. The world was not a new one, but, to use the famous figure of Pliny, the Romans were a new day, a new sun, to it. His words are not too proud: '. . . immensa Romanae pacis majestate, non homines modo diversis inter se terris gentibusque, verum etiam montes et excedentia in nubes juga, partusque eorum et herbas quoque invicem ostentante. Aeternum quaeso Deorum sit munus istud. Adeo Romanos, velut alteram lucem, dedisse rebus humanis videntur.'[2] In this new day Jerusalem also flourished.

The effects of the Roman conquest on Western Asia may be stated as five.[3] First, the centre of trade as well as of politics was transferred to the other end of the Mediterranean, from Alexandria to Rome. Secondly: the Roman Empire excelled all before it in the construction of roads—long lines of firm highways, fit for wheels as well as animals. Palestine, it is true, did not (except in the neighbourhood of colonial and other centres of Roman life) benefit by the characteristic Roman 'streets' till the time of the Antonines. But

Its Five Features.

[1] See above, Bk. III. ch. xv.

[2] *H.N.* xxvii. 1.

[3] This paragraph is abridged from the author's article 'Trade and Commerce' in the *Enc. Bibl.* §§ 68-73, to which the reader is referred for the authorities cited.

the security of the ancient lines of traffic was a matter of care to the provincial governors; and even the *reges socii*, like Herod, in whose domains brigandage was apt to be rife, knew that the favour of Rome depended upon the success with which they kept order and the roads open. By the beginning of the Empire the security of land travel was immensely increased. Thirdly: at sea the greatest change was the reduction of the Mediterranean under one power, and the consequent clearance of piracy, first by Pompey and then by Augustus. Herod's own life offers remarkable illustrations of this. None of his predecessors voluntarily set foot on shipboard; he visited Rhodes, Lesbos, the Ionian coast, Sinope on the Black Sea, and four times went to Rome. Fourthly: trade down the Red Sea and across the Indian Ocean was multiplied. Ceylon, with its markets for the further East, became familiar. The Tiber and the Indus were not more than four months apart. All this secured the continued importance of Alexandria, which therefore did not succumb before Rome as Babylon had succumbed before herself. Fifthly: the civilised world found itself for the first time under a common system of law. We have seen the effect on Judæa after this became a Roman province;[1] but even in Herod's time, and through all the arbitrariness of his government, that effect was manifest. He was constantly referring cases of justice to Augustus.[2] The common languages of Syria continued to be Greek and Aramaic, the intellectual atmosphere that of Hellenism. But the Roman discipline and many Roman customs penetrated even the semi-independent states. And as all princes and their peoples were equally sub-

[1] Vol. i. 413.

[2] See vol. i. 442 ff.

jects of Rome, there was more intercourse among them and more intermarriage.

Herod's Response to these.

To the imperial example and opportunity the genius of Herod responded—to the good that was in both as well as to the evil with which the latter tempted his ambitious and versatile mind. Our admiration has already been claimed for the strong foundation of order from which Herod raised his services to the Empire. When he came to the full resources of his position, part of his method was the construction of fortresses. He rebuilt the Hasmonean castles of Alexandrium in the Jordan valley, Masada in the desert of Judæa, Machaerus in Moab, and Hyrkania the site of which is unknown.[1] He erected two new fortresses, each of which he called Herodium,[2] and a citadel by Jericho named after his mother, Kypros. That he could explain all these as necessary to the maintenance of order is proved by his exhibition of three of them to Marcus Agrippa. Those who have inspected the remains of the Herodian castles can testify to the skill with which they were designed and the power with which they were constructed—the strength of their sites, the ingenuity of their approaches, the number and thickness of their walls, the thoroughness of their masonry. In all these respects Herod might confidently show them to an able Roman. He also fortified Heshbon in Peræa, and,

[1] For the first three see *H.G.H.L.* 353, 512 ff., 569 (with my article on Machaerus in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, 224 ff.). Hyrkania must have lain west of the Jordan, for Herod took Marcus Agrippa to see it as well as Alexandrium and Herodium: xvi. *Ant.* ii. 1.

[2] Ἡρώδειον: one about three miles S.E. of Jerusalem on the Frank Mountain: Jebel el-Fureidis (Hill of Paradise), in which modern name it is possible to conjecture a corruption of his own. The site of the other has not been recovered; it lay 'in the mountains towards Arabia.'

as a centre for his cavalry, Gaba on Esdraelon—one is reminded of Solomon's cities for chariots[1]—besides planting guard-houses all over the land. The next work which the Roman dispensation demanded from him was an open and secure gateway to the west. This he gave in Cæsarea—city, fortress and harbour. Its rank as the capital of the Roman province of Judæa, with all its commercial and religious importance in New Testament times, proved his foresight and the solidity of his building.[2] In the hills behind Cæsarea stood the already fortified Sebastē, upon the site of Samaria, which Herod selected, like Omri, Alexander and Perdiccas before him, for its western outlook.[3] On the maritime plain somewhere by the road between Cæsarea and Jerusalem he founded Antipatris in memory of his father,[4] and further south, near Gaza, he rebuilt the town and port of Anthedon,[5] under the name Agrippeion, thereby securing control of the Nabatean trade, which spread from Arabia as far as Italy.[6] He also founded a town Phasaelis, called after his brother, in the Jordan valley, which he brought under a wide and profitable cultivation.

Effects on Jerusalem.

The effects upon Jerusalem herself were of a double and opposite character. On the one hand, Herod was never at home in his capital. Besides their political purpose, a number of his constructions provided him with relief from the legalism of the City, which he detested, and with refuges from her fanatic turbulence, which he had increasing reason to fear. Sebastē was wholly Greek, and Josephus says that

[1] Above, pp. 56 f. [2] *H.G.H.L.* 138 ff. [3] Above, pp. 374, 376.
[4] *H.G.H.L.* 165, and the present writer's 'Antipatris' in the *Enc. Bibl.*
[5] *H.G.H.L.* 189. [6] Vol. i. 341.

Herod built it 'for his own security.' His later years he seems to have spent almost constantly at Jericho, protected by his new citadel. It was the local Assembly of Jericho before which he brought the case of his sons, and other legal questions. In this he strictly conformed to the Law;[1] but he was also more sure of the verdicts he wanted than if the trials had taken place in Jerusalem. Herodium, with its aqueduct, gardens[2] and luxurious apartments, not only gave him a residence near to Jerusalem yet fortified against her multitude, but lay on the way to Masada, where he had built himself a retreat from Jewish revolt and Roman caprice. That he also made the military road between the two is unlikely;[3] it is probably Roman. But while this prudent distribution of his resources must have diminished in some degree the importance of the capital, it also increased her security, her population and her wealth. Except from Rome, Jerusalem had now nothing to fear. Fortresses controlled most of the ways to her gates. She had a coast of her own from Anthedon to Carmel and a spacious port towards Europe. The summer voyage from Cæsarea to Cyprus might be accomplished within two days, to Alexandria in four, to Athens in ten, to Rome within three weeks.[4] In other words, Jerusalem was sometimes, though not regularly, almost as near to Rome as Calcutta is to London. Roman emissaries and officials, Italian, German and Gaulish mercenaries, with traders from all the coasts of the Mediterranean, became familiar figures in her streets. The pickled fish

[1] Vol. i. 443 f.

[2] Vol. i. 130.

[3] Traces of which I followed in the desert: *H.G.H.L.* 273.

[4] See the writer's 'Trade and Commerce,' *Enc. Bibl.*, where the uncertainties of the voyage over the Mediterranean are also illustrated.

of the Lake of Galilee, the wheat of Hauran and Moab, the olives of Judæa, the gold and incense of Arabia, paid tolls from which Herod's capital directly benefited. From this time onward the majority of foreign terms in the Hebrew language are still Greek, but Latin words appear in increasing number. It is difficult to determine when each of these entered the language; many are certainly later than Herod's day, and imply the creation of the Roman province of Judæa in 6 A.D.; but a summary of them all may be given here as on the whole illustrative of Roman influence on Jewish life during New Testament times.[1] Greek terms of civil or military administration were already fairly numerous, for the Jews had been under Greek kings and familiar with their garrisons since Alexander; while the fact that nearly all the names for popular forms of government are Greek is significant of that influence of Hellenic cities upon Jewish politics which has been already described.[2] The political or military terms which Hebrew borrowed from Latin signify various military officers, several kinds of private soldiers, and parts of the characteristic Roman uniform or armour; courtiers, guards, police-officers, spies and informers; some taxes, weights and coins. In architecture the foreign terms are mostly Greek; we have seen traces of Greek influence in

[1] I have not been able to see the monographs on Greek and Latin words in the Mishna and Talmuds cited by Strack in his *Einleitung*, pp. 119, 121. Schürer, *Gesch.*(3) § 22, gives an interesting list. I have used it for checking and extending the summary which is given above, and which is mainly derived from my own reading. An exact study would discriminate between those in the Mishna and those in the Talmuds: the former are not nearly so many as the latter. Another difficulty would be to decide whether certain terms common to both languages were directly derived from the one or the other.

[2] Vol. i. Bk. i. ch. x.

the remains both of Hasmonean and Herodian buildings.[1] But there are Latin words, as also Greek, for streets, roads and footpaths. The terms for inn and harbour and for many things connected with the sea are Greek. In astrology, geometry, literature, medicine, philosophy and religion the foreign terms are, of course, almost exclusively Greek; yet Latin words sometimes occur, and it is interesting to meet the Roman *disciplina* side by side with the Greek *nomos*. Foreign expressions for the industrial arts and their materials, especially spinning, weaving, fish-curing and writing, for the processes and objects of trade, especially the names of various traders and of jars for the conveyance of goods, are nearly all Greek. Greek and Latin garments are frequent: boots, trousers, robes and caps; names of games, baths, feasts and articles of luxury are borrowed from both languages. But the names of European countries and peoples are given mostly in their Latin form.

Size and Population of the Herodian City.

Through Herod's reign Jerusalem probably increased in size and in the number of her inhabitants. But for neither have we any exact data. The First and Second Walls ran as before, and the divisions of the City were the same. On the crest of the East Hill lay the Temple with Baris to the north, and to the south the Lower City falling to Siloam. On the South-West Hill lay the Upper City, protected to the north by the First Wall; beyond which lay the northern quarter or slope enclosed by the Second Wall.[2] That to the north of this there were already suburbs we

[1] Vol. i. 192, 217; vol. ii. 404, 426.

[2] Τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα: Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. 2.

know from the account of Herod's siege in 37,[1] but how far they reached at that time or were increased under Herod, how much of Bezetha was covered, or whether outlying houses with gardens had yet appeared on the northern plateau, are questions we have no means of answering. The population, too, is unknown. At the end of the reign and through the New Testament period it has been estimated as from 200,000 to 250,000, but the figure seems far too high.

The Revolution in the Topography.

From such uncertainties we turn to the increased fortifications and the new buildings which we definitely know to have been due to the lavish energy of Herod. We must examine these with care, for they not only brought into bolder relief the outlines of the City and of her divisions, they not only enriched and dignified her whole appearance; but they altered her centre of gravity, in a political sense, they determined the topography of the New Testament, and they perverted the tradition of that of the Old Testament.[2]

The Walls and Great Towers.

When Herod captured Jerusalem in 37 B.C. the two northern lines of wall were breached, some of the Temple-cloisters burned, and other parts of the town probably dilapidated, for the sack that followed the capture was ruthless.[3] Herod's first care as king must have been the repair of the fortifications. Although there is no record of his work upon the walls, we may infer from the towers he built, as well as from his thorough construction of other strongholds, that his engineers were busy with them all round

[1] Τὰ προάστεια: i. *B.J.* xvii. 8.
[2] Vol. i. 161 ff.
[3] xiv. *Ant.* xvi. 2 f.; i. *B.J.* xviii.

the City, and that the First and Second Walls which so stubbornly resisted Titus in 70 A.D. had all been strengthened or elevated by Herod.[1] From the west wall of the Temple to the present citadel and round the South-West Hill to the Tyropœon the First Wall ran as before. It still enclosed Siloam,[2] and when it reached the eastern boundary of the Temple area as extended by Herod it coincided with this above Ḳidron, and then turning round the northern slopes of the Temple-mount reached the Baris, now called Antonia,[3] from which the Second Wall struck across the Tyropœon on an unknown line to the Gate Genath on the stretch of the First Wall along the north of the South-West Hill. Here, on this same stretch of the First Wall, Herod raised three lofty towers, which with a fourth to the north of them greatly changed the western outline of the City. The three were Hippicus, perhaps where the north-west tower of the present citadel stands; Phasael, the base of which still bears the tower known as 'David's'; and a little to the east of this Mariamme[4]—the last two certainly, and Hippicus perhaps also, on the Old or First north wall.[5] The fourth tower, Psephinus, an octagon, stood to the north, probably on the site of the present Ḳaṣr Jâlûd, at first isolated but afterwards connected with the others by the Third, or Agrippa's Wall.[6] Phasael was ninety cubits high, Hippicus eighty, Psephinus seventy, Mariamme fifty; Phasael was forty cubits

[1] Vol. i. 193. [2] Vol. i. 223. [3] Vol. i. 234 f.

[4] On these three see vol. i. 242, and further on Phasael, 191 f.

[5] Josephus, v. *B.J.* iv. 3, seems to imply that only Phasael and Mariamme were on the Old or First north wall, Hippicus being close by; but in the next section (4) he places them all on the old wall.

[6] Vol. i. 11 (*n.* 1), 240, 244.

square, Hippicus twenty-five, Mariamme twenty. Each of the four was built on a high, solid base of huge stones without mortar, with a revetment such as we see on the still extant base of Phasael.[1] Above this the structures differed, but all the towers were provided with battlements and turrets.[2]

The three towers, Hippicus, Phasael and Mariamme, lay then at the north-west angle of the Old or First Wall, where this already formed a crest of thirty cubits high[3] on the South-West Hill, within and near the site of the present citadel. In touch with them, to the south and within the wall, Herod constructed a new Royal Court or Palace, 'the Palace in the Upper City.'[4] The wall of this was on the north and west the Old or First City wall; on the south and east a wall of the same height, thirty cubits, was erected, and there were towers at intervals. It was, in fact, a citadel as well as a palace. Within were two halls, each the size of the sanctuary with couches for a hundred guests, and many other chambers richly furnished. There were colonnades all round, courts open to the air in which everything was green, and groves or shrubberies with long walks among them. The whole was rendered possible by the High-

Herod's Court or Palace.

[1] Vol. i. 192, with Plate VI. This cubit was probably about 17·5 inches.

[2] See further the description of Phasael in *P.E.F. Mem.* 'Jerus.' 267 ff., especially the interesting comparison of the Josephan datum of a cloister which went round the tower ten cubits above the base with a similar outwork still extant.

[3] v. *B.J.* iv. 4: about 43¾ feet.

[4] Ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐλή, v. *B.J.* iv. 4; τὸ ἑαυτοῦ βασίλειον κατὰ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν, i. *B.J.* xxi. 1; cf. xv. *Ant.* ix. 3; xvii. *Ant.* x. 2. After describing its various parts, in the first of these three passages, Josephus calls it by the plural, τὰ βασίλεια, in ii. *B.J.* iii. 1, xvii. 6; cf. ἡ ἀνωτέρω αὐλή. xv. *Ant.* vii. 8 calls it the Phrourion of the City as contrasted with that of the Temple; and in other passages the Akrai of Jerusalem are mentioned, xvii. *Ant.* x. 1; ii. *B.J.* ii. 2, iii. 1. See below, pp. 574 ff.

Level Aqueduct, which distributed water through deep conduits and metal fountains.[1] It was here that Herod kept those flocks of tamed pigeons to which, oddly enough, his name has been attached in later Hebrew.[2] The Palace was destroyed by fire in 70 A.D., and only the base of Phasael, parts of its other towers and of its western wall, remain to witness to its strength. But of the site there can be no doubt. Herod built his Palace on the highest of the three terraces of the South-West Hill.[3] The north and west walls were, as we have seen, the north-west angle of the First City Wall, and it therefore occupied the site of the present citadel and barracks, with an unknown extension southwards over the gardens of the Armenian monastery. Its breadth would most naturally be the breadth of the terrace, and its eastern wall therefore probably followed the line of the present street leading to the Sion Gate.[4] The Palace and Towers of Herod overlooked the whole City, as well as her approaches from the south and the west.[5]

Thus at last one, and this perhaps the most formidable, of the centres of authority in the City had been planted on the crest of the South-West Hill; and it was never to be shifted from here. Here Herod resided when he was in Jerusalem, and here he kept a large garrison of his mercenaries. Here also would reside Archelaus and Agrippa I.[6] The Palace

Permanent Removal of the Seat of Authority to the S.W. Hill.

[1] Vol. i. 129; vol. ii. 462 f. [2] Above, p. 469 *n.* 1. [3] Vol. i. 35.

[4] Schick (*Z.D.P.V.* xvii. 85) conjectures the breadth as extending from the west City wall nearly to the English church, and that the W. wall of the Armenian monastery stands on the E. wall of the Palace. 'The market-place east of the fosse which surrounds the Citadel appears to be supported on vaults' (*P.E.F. Mem.* 'Jerus.' 270). Could these be excavated some remains of Herod's Palace might be found.

[5] Vol. i. 26. [6] xvii. *Ant.* ix. 3; ii. *B.J.* ii. 1 f.; xix. *Ant.* vii. 3.

of Herod was the Prætorium or residence of the Roman procurators,[1] the tower Phasael was the stronghold of Simon through the siege.[2] The Legionary Camp had its strongest angle here;[3] here lay the castle of the Byzantines and the Moslems,[4] the Crusaders' Tower of David and Castle of the Pisans,[5] and here still stands the Turkish Castle, el-Ḳala'a. Herod's choice and parts of Herod's construction have endured, through all these dispensations, to the present day. And, as we have seen, it was his removal of the centre of the City's authority from the East to the South-West Hill which carried with it the names of the ancient stronghold on the former Ṣion, the 'City of David,' and perverted the whole tradition of the Old Testament topography.[6]

The Hasmonean Palace and the Xystos.

On the lowest terrace of this same South-West Hill, and, in fact, due east from the site of Herod's Palace, lay (as we saw) the Palace of the Hasmoneans;[7] the first short step which the government of Jerusalem had taken from the East Hill and across the Tyropœon. After Herod extirpated the Hasmoneans this palace would pass into the use of his family, if indeed Mariamme had not already brought it with her as a dowry. Below this, in the Tyropœon, had long lain an open place of exercise, perhaps the Gymnasium which Jason had built.[8] Hereafter it is called the Xystos, the Greek name for a covered colonnade in a gymnasium.[9]

[1] xvii. *Ant.* ix. 3; ii. *B.J.* ii. 2, xiv. 8; see below, pp. 574 ff.
[2] v. *B.J.* iv. 3.
[3] Wilson, *Golgotha*, 142 ff.
[4] Mukaddasi, 167, Istakhri, 56, quoted by Le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems*, 213.
[5] That is Phasael; cf. Will. of Tyre, viii. 3; ix. 3.
[6] Vol. i. 161 ff.
[7] Above, p. 461.
[8] Above, p. 432.
[9] So called from its polished floor; it is first mentioned in xx. *Ant.* viii. 11 under Festus; ii. *B.J.* xvi. 3, just before the siege by Titus.

Herod may have remade it under this name. The Hippodrome also, which it is probable (though not certain) that Herod built, is placed by some on the South-West Hill,[1] and they conjecture that a memory of it survives in the Ḥaret el-Meidān, or street of the race-course. But the single notice of the Hippodrome seems to imply that it did not lie in the western part of the City.[2]

While by these edifices Herod not only altered the appearance of the South-West Hill, but the relative significance of all parts of the City, he effected also, by constructions still more massive, a transformation of the East Hill and of the Central Valley.[3] For on the third summit of the East Hill he rebuilt and amplified its citadel, the Baris.[4] On the fourth he rebuilt the Temple, greatly heightening the House itself, widely extending the courts, so as to cover all this part of the hill and project over the Central Valley, and surrounding the whole with a huge wall. And he appears to have made the east stretch of this wall coincident, for the first time in its history, with the East Wall of the City above the Ḳidron.[5] The extent and character of many of these changes has been disclosed by the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, but some of them remain obscure, and have provoked much controversy. For such reasons, but also because of the place which the two buildings occupy in New Testament

Transformation of the East Hill and Central Valley.

[1] Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 686.

[2] xvii. *Ant.* x. 2; it was held by a band of the Jews who revolted against Sabinus, a second band held the temple, and a third band 'the western part of the city.'

[3] For these constituents of the site of Jerusalem, see vol. i. Bk. i. ch. i.

[4] On these summits see vol. i. p. 34.

[5] Vol. i. 234 f.

history and through the last siege, Herod's Castle and Temple are treated by themselves in the next chapter.

In this chapter we have still to notice his Theatre and Amphitheatre, with the gorgeous shows exhibited in them. Somewhere about 25 B.C. Herod founded an Athletic Gathering, to be celebrated every five years, in honour of Augustus.[1] He spared no expense, for, like Antiochus Epiphanes, this patron of the Olympian Games was determined to rival on his own soil the finest of the Greek and Roman spectacles. Athletes from all lands were invited to Jerusalem, to contend for costly prizes amid magnificent surroundings that flashed with ascriptions to the Emperor and trophies of the nations he had subdued, all wrought in silver and gold. There came also musicians and choral actors, whose name, Thymelikoi, would remind a cultured Jew of their original association with Greek worship. In a region unsuitable to wheels,[2] chariot-races were run, with two, three and four pairs of horses. Wild beasts were collected to fight with each other, or with men. To these shows Gentiles flocked with admiration. But it was a sore sight to Jerusalem, as though the most Hellenising of her Seleucid tyrants the very monster against whom the Maccabeans had risen, were come again, and in the person of her own king. We cannot wonder that the first festival marked the beginning of a period of trouble for Herod.

Herod's Athletic Gatherings.

The sites of these spectacles are, therefore, of more

[1] Josephus, xv. *Ant.* viii. i.: ἀγῶνα πενταετηρικὸν ἀθλημάτων κατεστήσατο Καίσαρι. The name 'gathering,' used in the Highlands of Scotland for athletic and musical contests, is the exact equivalent of the Greek Agōn.

[2] See above, vol. i. 325. Herod must have improved the roads of his kingdom.

than ordinary interest. Josephus says that 'Herod built a theatre in Jerusalem, and a very great amphitheatre on the plain.'[1] If we conclude, from its contrast with the other position, that the phrase 'in Jerusalem' is to be taken literally, we must seek for Herod's Theatre inside the walls, where two sites have been suggested.[2] But it is improbable that he would so violently affront the religious authorities, and possible to understand the words of Josephus in a more general sense. To the south of the City, on the hill beyond the Jebel Deir Abu Ṭor,[3] the remains of a great theatre were recently discovered, and we know of no other name to call it by than Herod's. It is of the usual form: a semicircle on the hillside, with traces of stepped seats and chambers below, and in front a level space for the stage. The diameter is rather large for a Palestine theatre, 132 or 136 feet. Facing north, the theatre is visible from several parts of Jerusalem: the spectators looked across the Jebel Deir Abu Ṭor onwards to the City.[4]

His Theatre

The site of Herod's Amphitheatre 'on the plain' is not certainly known. It may have been out on the Buḳêi'a, or on the plateau to the north of Jerusalem. But an equally suitable position, and one with which tradition connects great games, may be seen as we look from the north-east corner of the City north-east into the great basin on the Olivet range. I often

and Amphi-theatre.

[1] As above, xv. *Ant.* viii. 1.

[2] On the S.W. Hill, south of the Burj el-Kibrit, and on the East Hill south of the Ḥaram.

[3] Vol. i. 31 and Plate v.

[4] The discovery was made by Schick, who, however, wrongly calls it an *amphitheatre*, while his description and plans are, as above, of a *theatre*; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1887, 161 ff.

wondered whether this level space was ever utilised in ancient times, till I heard that the people have a story of its having been 'a Meidan, or place of exercise, where strong men wrestled and made games.' This may embody a genuine recollection of Herod's athletic gatherings in honour of Augustus, and indicate the site of his Amphitheatre.[1]

[1] I was walking in the neighbourhood one afternoon with Dr. Percy D'Erfe Wheeler and his servant, when the latter told us this story as current among the people. He called a clump of ruins on the site er-Raṣâṣ. Cf. Bîr er-Raṣâṣ or Raṣâṣîyeh, a little further north (*P.E.F. Large Map*, sheet xvii., and Schick's map of the nearer environs). Raṣâṣ does not necessarily mean 'lead'; the root is applied to any joining, ranging, or piling, especially of stones.

CHAPTER XVIII

HEROD'S CASTLE AND TEMPLE

IN this chapter we shall treat of Herod's two most conspicuous and significant reconstructions, which, standing together on the East Hill, were destined to be the principal scenes of the remaining Jewish history of Jerusalem—his Castle, the Antonia, and his Temple. The Castle was built first, and we begin with it.

1. The Antonia—its character:

The Baris, or Akropolis of the Hasmoneans, stood (as we have seen) on the north of the Temple.[1] According to Josephus, Herod refortified this castle and enlarged it at a vast expense, calling it the Antonia, in honour of Mark Antony.[2] He says that the Antonia 'lay at' or 'near to the angle of the two cloisters of the first Temple, that to the west and that to the north.'[3] Its basis was 'a rock 50 cubits high, and precipitous all round.' Herod deprived the sides of foothold by covering them with slabs of stone. Round the edge ran a rampart, three cubits high, within which 'the whole erection of the Antonia was carried to

[1] Above, p. 460.

[2] xv. *Ant.* viii. 5, xi. 4; xviii. *Ant.* iv. 3; xx. *Ant.* v. 3; i. *B.J.* xxi. 1. The description of it given above is abridged from v. *B.J.* v. 8.

[3] v. *B.J.* v. 8: Ἡ δ' Ἀντωνία κατὰ γωνίαν μὲν δύο στοῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε πρὸς ἑσπέραν καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον. The *First Temple* here is to be taken in the sense of the outer Temple; cf. v. *B.J.* v. 2, where the inner Temple is called *the second*. See below, pp. 513 *n.* 2, 518 *n.* 1.

a height of 40 cubits.[1] The interior contained every kind of dwelling and other convenience, colonnades, baths and broad courts for encampments, so that in possessing all manner of utilities it seemed a city, but in sumptuousness a palace.' 'The whole plan was tower-like,'[2] but at the corners it carried four other towers, three 50 cubits high, and a fourth, at the south-east corner, 70, so as to overlook the Temple. Stairs or sloping gangways led down to the two adjoining cloisters. They appear to have crossed a rocky incline between the Antonia and the Temple; for, though some of the language used by Josephus may be interpreted as though the Antonia immediately adjoined, or even abutted upon, the Temple cloisters, this is not the only possible meaning;[3] and in his description of the struggles between the Romans and the Jews, after Titus had taken the Castle, Josephus implies that some little space intervened between the latter and the *peribolos* of the sanctuary.[4] On the north, again, the Antonia was

[1] As to the figures given by Josephus, it must be remembered that he wrote some years after the destruction of the Temple, and at a distance from Jerusalem, that his figures for the Temple dimensions frequently exceed those given in the Mishna (which are preferred below); but also that in one or two cases in which we can test others of his figures by extant remains, these have been found to be very near the truth. The heights which he gives for the Antonia towers seem needlessly great.

[2] Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 11: 'Conspicuoque fastigio turris Antonia in honorem M. Antonii ab Herode appellata.'

[3] ii. *B.J.* xv. 5 f: when Gessius Florus sought to reach the Temple 'through the Antonia,' the Jews 'cut through the Temple cloisters adjoining': ἀναβάντες εὐθέως τὰς συνεχεῖς στοὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν διέκοψαν; xvi. 5, however, calls them the στοαί of the Antonia itself, and this suggests that they were the (covered) passages connecting the two; xvii. 1: the people going up to the Temple began the rebuilding of these στοαί.

[4] vi. *B.J.* i. 7 ff; ii. 6; 'neither side had any length of space whether for flight or pursuit.'

isolated from the higher summit of Bezetha by a deep ditch 'designedly cut through' the ridge which joined them.[1] So far Josephus. With his data agrees Luke's description of Paul's adventures between the Temple and the Castle. When Paul was dragged *out* of the Temple, and the gates were shut, the Chiliarch came down with soldiers and brought him up *the ascents* to the Castle From these gangways Paul addressed a crowd standing below them, but outside the great sanctuary wall. There was, therefore, a space of open ground on the saddle of the hill between the Temple and the Castle.[2]

For those who hold that the Temple stood to the west of the rock eṣ-Ṣakhra, there can be no doubt about part at least of the site of the Antonia.[3] This was the rock at the north-west corner of the Ḥaram, upon which the Turkish barracks now stand. The southern face of the rock is a scarp from 20 to 32 feet high. The east face is hidden by buildings. On the west the conditions are not so clear. But it has been amply verified that on the north a broad, deep ditch is cut across the hill, so as to separate the rock from

and its Site.

[1] v. *B.J.* iv. 2: διεταφρεύθη γὰρ ἐπίτηδες, ὡς μὴ τῷ λόφῳ συνάπτοντες οἱ θεμέλιοι τῆς Ἀντωνίας εὐπρόσιτοί τε εἶεν καὶ ἧττον ὑψηλοί (sec vol. i. 244); cf. v. 8.

[2] Acts xxi. 30 ff. (cf. above, vol. i. 246): castle = παρεμβολή. The reference to the gates cannot mean the gates of the inner sanctuary, and that the crowd stood in the court of the Gentiles. Paul could not have addressed them through the massive outer wall and its cloisters.

[3] Those who place the Temple in the S.W. corner of the Ḥaram (vol. i. 231; vol. ii. 61) are forced to place the Antonia much further south than the rock described above, and, in fact, where there is no outstanding rock at all, in the Tyropœon valley! Fergusson (*Temples of the Jews*, 172 ff.) assumes that Wilson's arch and the underground chambers to the W. of this are parts of the substructions of the Antonia. But this is also to remove the Antonia too far from Bezetha, its nearness to which is placed by Josephus beyond all doubt.

Bezetha, just as Josephus describes.[1] Above these scarps, then, stood part at least of the Antonia. But the rock is not a simple oblong; it has an offshoot to the south. At right angles from the west end of its southern face, another scarp, facing east across the Ḥaram, runs to the Bab es-Serai. The space between the two scarps is natural rock, falling south-east to the Ḥaram level. It is probable, therefore, that the high site of the Antonia was an irregular gnomon with its prolongation southwards to the Bab es-Serai. This hypothesis provides more of the room needed for the interior of the Castle as described by Josephus; it provides a longer western face for the Antonia which seems required by the account of the fighting under Titus; it brings the end of the Castle nearer to the north-west angle of the Temple, which cannot have been situated much further north than the Bab en-Nâzir;[2] and at the same time it leaves space, partly sloping, partly level, for the interval which Josephus describes between the cloisters and Antonia, and which was apparently crossed by the sloping gangways.[3] In this space traces of a ditch across the saddle are said to have been discovered.[4] If such a ditch ever existed, it was before Herod's day, in order to separate between the Baris and the Second Temple, and it must have been filled up by Herod, for there is no description or hint of a ditch between the Antonia and Herod's Temple.

[1] For these particulars see *P.E.F. Mem.* 'Jerus.' 212 ff., with Plans II. and XXXVII. of the Portfolio. The northern ditch and its scarps are described by Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Res.* i. 49 ff. The street to the Bab Sitti Mariam (St. Stephen's Gate) runs along the ditch, which extended far to the west, part of its N. scarp having been discovered in the grounds of the Austrian hospice. Here it was probably the fosse outside the Second Wall.

[2] See vol. i. 231.

[3] Above, p. 496.

[4] *Recovery of Jerus.* 13, 312.

Therefore the supposition that a bridge, or pair of bridges, connected the two is unfounded.[1]

As the name implies, Herod built his Antonia before the fall of Mark Antony in 31 B.C. His Palace on the South-West Hill was finished by 23,[2] and even earlier his Hippodrome, Theatre and Amphitheatre.[3] Sebaste was built in 27, and Cæsarea begun about 22. In these and other cities he had erected shrines to Greek and Roman deities; while in sight of Jerusalem he had established heathen games and spectacles.[4] It became necessary to his policy to do something for Judaism. His fresh and costly structures in Jerusalem, built in Hellenic style with limestone that showed like marble, rendered the Temple of Zerubbabel, in spite of its embellishment during the Greek period, meagre and shabby. Herod had difficulty, however, in gaining the consent of 'the multitude' to his plans;[5] and Josephus says that he began by explaining to them that his previous works were undertaken in order to advance the fame of the Jews among other nations! But now piety urged them all to do something great for their own God. The Second Temple, he averred, was not so lofty as the First, and his predecessors had never been able to heighten

2. The Temple—Herod's Reasons for Rebuilding.

[1] Sanday and Waterhouse (*Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, 108, with Plan 116; see also frontispiece) suppose a 'valley' crossed by 'a double bridge' between the Temple and Antonia, for which there is 'some reason' (108). But there is no 'valley' across this part of the East Hill, only a saddle between two summits, the Antonia rock and the rock eṣ-Ṣakhra. If there had been a ditch before Herod's time, Herod must have filled it up, for there is not the faintest allusion to either a ditch or 'a bridge' in all the subsequent relations of the Temple and Antonia. Nothing is described between them from Herod to Titus, except 'no long space of ground' (on which the fighting took place between Romans and Jews) and the stairs or gangways.

[2] Above, pp. 488 f. [3] Above, p. 491 ff. [4] Above, p. 492.

[5] xv. *Ant.* xi. 2; see above, vol. i. 443.

it. But his friendship with the Romans, the peace with which God had blessed His people, made it possible to repair this defect and prove their gratitude to God. Still the Jews hesitated, and Herod won them over only by promising that he would not pull down the old House till he was ready to build the new. That no profane hand might touch the inner sanctuary, he put a thousand priests into training as masons and carpenters. Then, in the eighteenth year of his reign, the winter of 20-19 B.C., he began to build. The Naos or House itself was finished in eighteen months, and was dedicated on the anniversary of his accession; but the construction of the cloisters and the massive outer enclosures occupied eight years.[1] Even then much remained to be done, and the work dragged on long after Herod's death. During one of our Lord's visits to Jerusalem it was said *forty-and-six years has this Temple been building*,[2] which fixes the date of that visit as 27 or 28 A.D. Not

Dates and Period of Construction.

[1] For all the above particulars see xv. *Ant.* xi. 5 f. In i. *B.J.* xxi. 1 the Temple is said to have been begun in Herod's fifteenth year. If this be correct it refers to the preliminary operations. See Schürer's full note *Gesch.*(3) § 15 *n.* 12.

[2] John ii. 20: *Naós*; *the Naos*, in its proper sense of the House itself, was finished in 1½ years, and objection has therefore been taken to the Evangelist's accuracy, which Drummond meets by saying that the phrase 'takes up the word used by Jesus and might be loosely applied to the Temple with all its connected ornaments and buildings' (*Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, 370). But that *Naos* was used by Jewish writers of Greek to describe not only the House itself, but the inner enclosure and even the outer, may be seen both in the N.T. and Josephus. In Matt. xxvii. 5 Judas is said to have *thrown the silver pieces into the Naos*, which cannot have been the House but one of the courts about it. (For *naós* in its proper sense see Matt. xxiii. 35; Luke i. 21 f.; in ii. 27, 37, 46, and in Acts xxi., Luke correctly uses *ierón*.) Similarly Josephus, v. *B.J.*, v. 3 § 201, speaks of 'one gate, that outside the Naos, of Corinthian bronze'; it stood outside the Court of Israel, if not even outside the Court of Women. And in xv. *Ant.* xi. 3, while employing Naos of the House itself (§ 391, etc.) he

till the Procuratorship of Albinus (63-64), says Josephus, 'was the Temple finished.'[1] Six years later the House with all its cloisters sank in fire, never to be replaced.

Its Various Divisions.

Solomon's Temple had consisted of a House, with an inner chamber known as the Debîr or Back, and an outer called the Hêkal, Palace, or Temple. In front it had a Porch, a Fore-Court, with the Altar of Burnt-Offering, to which all Israel were admitted, and a great Outer or Lower Court which surrounded also the Palace-Court and other royal buildings.[2] The Second Temple was a House of the same scale and disposition as the First. It had more than one court, probably two, as Ezekiel prescribes; but his reservation of the inner one to the priests does not appear to have been enforced for a considerable period.[3] The first recorded exclusion of the laity from the neighbourhood of the Great Altar is under Alexander Jannæus (103-78 B.C.), who put up a barrier 'round House and Altar,' after the crowd pelted him with citrons.[4] But it is precarious to conclude that so personal a trouble was the whole origin of the reservation of the inner court to the priests. Along with other developments, like the Court of Women and the exclusion of foreigners from the inner Temple, the reservation of the Altar-court to the priests may have been realised during earlier centuries, when the Temple area was enlarged by new substructures;[5] and when the rigorous distinctions of the

also applies it both to the inner (401) and to the whole Temple, inner and outer, *τὸν ναὸν ἅπαντα* (396). In the conversation described in John ii., our Lord and the Jews used either *Baith* or *Hêkal*, both of which were applicable either in the stricter or looser sense; and whichever was used it was natural for the Evangelist to employ the same Greek word to translate it in both cases.

[1] xx. *Ant.* ix. 7; in xv. *Ant.* xi. 3 Josephus states that part of the Naos fell and was rebuilt under Nero.

[2] Above, pp. 61 f.

[3] Above, p. 309.

[4] Vol. i. 410.

[5] Above, p. 386.

Law were gradually enforced, if not in the Persian period then under the Maccabees. In any case the following delimitations appear in the area of Herod's Temple, and he cannot be supposed to have invented any of them. Herod's Temple consisted of a House divided like its predecessor into the Holy of Holies, and the Holy Place; a Porch; an immediate Fore-court with the Altar of Burnt-offering; a Court of Israel; in front of this a Court of Women; and, round the whole of the preceding, a Court of the Gentiles.[1]

'The House' itself, the Naos proper, occupied the site of its predecessors, to the west of the rock es-Sakhra.

The House proper: Divisions and Contents.

The ground-plan was the same, the interior being 60 cubits by 20, divided into the Holy of Holies and the Holy Place. Before the former, still a dark and empty cube of 35 feet, known by its ancient name Dĕbîr, but also as the House of Atonement, hung a Veil, *the Veil of the Naos* according to the Gospels, the *second veil* of Hebrews;[2] the Rabbinic tradition was of two curtains with a cubit between them.[3] The Holy Place or Hêkal proper

[1] The data for Herod's Temple are found in Josephus, xv. *Ant.* xi. 3, 5; v. *B.J.* v., with other passages describing the revolt under Gessius Florus and the siege by Titus. The Mishna tractate 'Middoth' (ed. Surenhusius, vol. v., with R. Obadiah of Bartenora's and other commentaries; an Eng. trans. is given in the *P.E.F.Q.*, 1886, f.). See also the *Beth hab-Bechereh* of Maimonides (which I do not have in the original; Eng. trans. in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1885). Modern descriptions and reconstructions are many, of which there may be mentioned Lightfoot, *Descriptio Templi Hierosolymitani*; *Opera Omnia*, 2nd ed. vol. i. 333 f. (1699); Fergusson, *The Temples of the Jews*, pt. ii. (1878); Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Sardinia, Judæa*, etc., i. 142 ff. (1890); Waterhouse in *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, 106 ff. (1903); see also the various Bible dictionaries and manuals of archæology.

[2] Mark xv. 38; Matt. xxvii. 51; Luke xxiii. 45; Heb. ix. 3.

[3] *Mishna*, 'Middoth' iv. 7, with R. Obadiah's note: 'Yoma' v. 1; Moses Maimonides, *Beth hab-Bechereh*, iv. 2.

was still 40 cubits by 20, but 40 instead of 30 high. Over it lay a second chamber of 40 more, which with the solid foundations, 6 cubits high, the ceilings and roof, made 100 cubits in all. The Holy Place held the same furniture as the Second Temple: the Altar of Incense, the Table of Shewbread and the Lamp, now with seven branches.[1] After what we have seen of the symbolism of Solomon's Temple, it is interesting that Josephus should ascribe to these objects a cosmic meaning.[2] The doorway was 20 cubits by 10, and had double doors with a magnificent Babylonian curtain on the outside, of various colours symbolising the elements, 'as it were an image of the universe.' Upon beams in front of this trailed the Golden Vine, of the size of a man, to which liberal worshippers contributed leaves and clusters. The Porch was rebuilt as a great propylæum, 11 cubits deep and of the same height, 100 cubits, as the House behind it. But it was also 100 cubits broad, or 15 more on either side than the exterior breadth of the House behind, which was 70 cubits.[3] The vast entrance, 70 cubits high by 15 broad, lay open without doors, manifesting, says Josephus, 'the unobstructed openness of heaven.'[4]

Herod outraged Jewish feelings by hanging above this symbol of heaven a golden eagle with the name of his friend Marcus Agrippa. When the eagle was pulled

[1] As shown on the arch of Titus in Rome.

[2] v. *B.J.* v. 5; see below, p. 527.

[3] Josephus makes it 20 cubits broader on each side, but agrees with the Mishna ('Middoth' iv. 6 f.) on 100 cubits as the breadth and height.

[4] v. *B.J.* v. 4: τοῦ γαρ οὐρανοῦ τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἀδιάκλειστον ἐνέφαινε. Τὸ ἀφανές might be taken as Jew-Greek for a prospect on which 'nothing appears' to obstruct the vision; but Bekker emends to τὸ ἀχανές, which Aristotle uses for 'the void of space' (Liddell and Scott). In either case the meaning is the same. 'Middoth' iii. 7 gives the opening as 40 by 20 cubits.

down in the riots of 4 B.C., he seems to have felt the act more as an affront to himself than as sacrilege against God. He was naïvely right. The imperial eagle and some distinguished Roman or other were always fixed in Herod's heaven.[1]

We are thus asked to conceive of a building 172 feet long from east to west, and (if all its base was visible) 172 feet high, whose propylæum was also 172 broad, while the House behind was only 120. 'As a lion is narrow behind but broad in front, so the Temple was narrow behind but broad in front.'[2] The height may seem excessive, but besides being attested by Josephus and the Mishna independently,[3] it is very credible in the light of Herod's ambitions and the limits within which these had to work. He did not dare to alter the ground-plan or interior arrangements, but he

Its General Appearance.

[1] The names given in 'Middoth' (cf. 'Kelîm' i. 9) are כָּל־הַבַּיִת, the whole House, applied to the building with the porch (iv. 1); the *Naós* proper (see above, p. 500 *n.* 2); הַהֵיכָל, ha-hékal, palace or temple properly (as before) the Holy Place (iv. 7, Maimonides, *Beth hab-Bechereh*, vii. 22); perhaps also applied to the House as distinct from its porch (iii. 8, iv. 1: so certainly in the Talmud); and to the House inclusive of the porch (iv. 6 f.). The Holy of Holies was בֵּית קֹדֶשׁ הַקָּדָשִׁים, also הַקֹּדֶשׁ and בֵּית הַכַּפֹּרֶת, or House of Atonement (O.T. כַּפֹּרֶת). It is also called דְּבִיר, but an interesting instance of how the original meanings of names are forgotten is the Talmudic derivation of this, from דבר, word or oracle (*Talm. Jerush.*, 'Ber.' iv. 8 *c.*). The Holy Place was הֵיכָל, as we have seen. The Porch was אוּלָם. The cham'bers were תָּאִים. The whole was sometimes called בֵּית הַמִּקְדָּשׁ (used also in a wider sense); and בית אחרון and בית שני, the latter and second House.

[2] 'Middoth' iv. 7, ha-hékal; cf. Jos. v. *B.J.* v. 4, 'in front it had what may be called shoulders on each side.'

[3] The above reckoning (more exactly 172·25 ft.) is on the basis of 20·67 inches to the (sacred) cubit. If we take the later Greek cubit of 17·47 inches, the Temple was 145·58 feet in all three dimensions, the 'House' 101·9 broad.

could amplify the less sacred porch and increase the height of the whole. If he was forbidden to extend the House, he would at least make it soar! The whole was built of huge blocks of white stone,[1] with plates of gold upon the front, so that at a distance it appeared like a mountain covered with snow. The roof was protected from birds by a multitude of sharp spikes. It is interesting to note that above the great entrance the courses were five oak beams with a course of stone between each two. Such a detail warns us against attributing to the architecture of the House that Greek style, which many are tempted to give it, because of the Corinthian pillars of the outer cloisters and the Grecian qualities of Herod's military architecture. It was one thing to plan cloisters for the court of the Gentiles, or revetments at the base of fortresses, but quite another to replace an ancient Jewish Temple. While the Temple of Herod was much more lofty than that of Zerubbabel, jealous care would be exercised to model it on the same lines, and priests alone effected its construction. We may conceive of its style either as Babylonian, the builders of the Second Temple having come from long residence in Babylon, or as perpetuating the Phœnician and Egyptian traits which distinguished the Temple of Solomon.[2] Neither Herod nor his generation were likely to feel incongruous the conjunction of several styles of building on the same area. And that is why all modern reconstructions of the work, except the outer cloisters, must be more or less fanciful.

Twelve broad steps descended from the House to the Court of the Priests,[3] covering nearly all the 22

[1] Twenty-five by 8 by 12 cubits; xv. *Ant.* xi. 3.

[2] Above, p. 62.

[3] עזרת הכהנים.

cubits which separated the Porch from the Altar.[1] This was the space *between the Temple and the Altar*.[2] No one might stand here while the priest was within offering incense.[3] A little to the south of the steps stood the great Laver which had replaced the Bronze Sea of Solomon's Temple.[4] We have seen reason to believe that the Altar rose upon the rock es Ṣakhra. In Herod's Temple the Altar, of unhewn stones, was a massive structure whose base must have been adapted to the irregular surface of the rock; and, conformably to this, tradition says it was laid in concrete.[5] The base was 32 cubits square and one high. Above it the structure, 30 cubits square, rose five high to a ledge one cubit broad, on which were the horns of the altar; a little higher another ledge, also a cubit broad, 'the place for the feet of the priests' who officiated; and above this the hearth itself, 24 cubits square.[6] Two apertures drained the blood into a channel, which carried it off to the Ḳidron.[7] On the south a slope of masonry led to the ledge on which the ministering priests stood. To the north were the shambles: rings in the pavement, to which the victims were bound and so slain; marble tables on which they were flayed and washed; pillars with cross

The Court of the Priests.

[1] *Mishna*, 'Middoth' iii. 6.

[2] Matt. xxiii. 35: *between the Naos and the Altar*, for which the Mishnic phrase is 'between the Porch and the Altar,' 'Kelîm' i. 9.

[3] 'Kelîm' i. 9. Lightfoot (cap. xxxvi. p. 641) suggests a spiritual application of this. 'Kelîm' i. 9 adds none might come here who was blemished or had his head uncovered.

[4] Above, p. 65. Some tables stood beside it for the victims.

[5] R. Obadiah of Bartenora's note to 'Middoth' iii. 1.

[6] Ezekiel xliii. 16 had fixed the altar as 12 cubits long and broad, but the Rabbis interpreted this as 12 each way *from the centre*, which harmonised with the 24 of each side given above; 'Middoth' iii. 1.

[7] 'Yoma' v. 6; 'Middoth' iii. 2; cf on the Ṣakhra above, p. 60.

beams and hooks from which they were hung and (when necessary) quartered.[1] It is said that the plentiful supply of water rapidly flushed off the blood and refuse; but both on the greater festivals and on ordinary days, when the number of private sacrifices was frequently very large, the court must have reeked with blood and flesh. The exact size of the Priests' Court is unknown, for the data conflict. Josephus says that the barrier of stone, which marked it off from the Court of Israel, encompassed the House and the Altar,[2] that is, ran round at least three sides, if not also the back, of the former. But according to the Mishna the barrier ran only on the east of the Court of the Priests.[3]

Therefore, except that it was railed off from the Court of the Priests, and that part, if not the whole of it, lay to the east of this, we do not know the disposition of the Court of Israel.[4] Josephus implies that it spread round at least three sides of the House and the Priests' Court; the Mishna, that it lay only on the east of the latter.[5] The Mishna, followed by its commentaries and several modern reconstructions, defines the Court of Israel as an oblong, 135 cubits north and south by 11 east and west. But this appears far too small a space for what was the gathering-ground of all the men

The Court of Israel.

[1] *Mishna*, 'Middoth' iii. 5; v. 2; cf. 'Pesahim' v., 'Zebahim' v., and 'Tamîd' iii. For the slaughter of victims on the north of the altar, see Leviticus i. 10 f.

[2] v. *B.J.* v. 6; cf. the barrier of Alex. Jannæus, xiii. *Ant.* xiii. 5.

[3] 'Middoth' ii. 6, where the extension north and south of the Priests' Court and of the Ct. of Israel is the same (see p. 509 *n.* 1), so that the barrier did not run round the House. If we prefer the evidence of Josephus, we have still to decide whether his 'encompassed' means round all four sides of the House. If it does, the Court of Israel included the space of 11 cubits between the Holy of Holies and the inner west wall.

[4] עזרת ישראל: 'Middoth' ii. 6.

[5] Above, *n.* 3.

of the Congregation; and there is thus a semblance of reason for Mr. Waterhouse's reconstruction, which, ignoring the Mishna, assigns to the Court of Israel a greater breadth than 11 cubits to the east of the Court of Priests; carries it besides with Josephus round at least the north and south sides of the latter; and interprets 'the place for the tread of Israel,' which the Mishna identifies with the Court of Israel, as merely a strip of 11 cubits (to the east of 'the place for the tread of the priests'), on which the laymen stood whose presence was required with their victims near the altar. There are, however, objections to this, and the data of the Mishna though confused appear capable of another explanation. It seems to me probable that the ambiguity of the Mishna reflects these facts: *first*, that there was once no distinction, but the Court for Israel and the Priests was one;[1] and *second*, that when the distinction was made and the laity were driven back from the altar,[2] controversies arose about the new delimitation, and that its lines remained for a time (perhaps always) uncertain. The names 'place for the tread of priests' and 'place for the tread of Israel' probably represent the first stage in the delimitation when there was still (as before the Exile and for some time afterwards) only one inner court to the Temple. The name 'Courts' was applied to these separate spaces only later, while the name 'the whole Court' continued to cover both divisions. Hence the Mishna's undoubted equation of the places for the tread

[1] See above, p. 501.

[2] Except in cases in which the offerer had to come forward into the Priests' Court for the purpose of slaying his victim himself, or putting his hands on it, or waving it: 'Kelîm' i. 8.

of the priests and of Israel respectively with the Courts of the Priests and of Israel may not be wrong, but may merely represent the gradual evolution of the single inner court of the Temple, with 'places marked off for priests and laity,' into the two or three inner courts of Herod's Temple.[1]

On the east the Court of Israel was separated by a wall (running north and south) from the Court of Women, which lay fifteen steps lower,[2] but had a gallery high enough to allow the women to view the services in the Court of the Priests.[3] The Court of Women.

[1] *Mishna*, 'Middoth' ii. 6, first states the dimensions of both courts; each was 135 cubits long (north to south) by 11 broad (east to west); then the dimensions of 'the whole court,' 187 long (east to west) by 135 broad (north to south); v. i. gives the same dimensions for 'the whole court': in the length (east to west) it includes 'the place for the tread of Israel' and that 'for the tread of the priests,' which are also 11 cubits each, and therefore obviously the same as the Court of Israel and the Court of the Priests in ii. 6. Lightfoot (cap. xvi. p. 590), who treats this part of the subject with an unusual disregard of detail, calls the Court of Israel and the Court of the Priests one court, evidently feeling that the delimitation of them is impossible. Nearly all modern descriptions fight shy of the conflicting data; most of them follow the Mishna in giving the breadth of the Court of Israel at 11 cubits, but with Josephus (and against the Mishna) they carry the court round the north and south of the House, some of them even round the back of it. Waterhouse (*Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, 111 f.) treats the difficult question more carefully and with originality. In opposition to the Mishna he takes 'the whole court' as meaning only the Court of the Priests, and the 'place for the tread of Israel' a strip within this to which laymen were permitted for purposes of sacrifice (see above), and assigns to the Court of Israel a considerable extension to the east. One cannot but sympathise with so reasonable an arrangement. At the same time, it is only possible if we assume that 'Middoth' is altogether wrong in identifying the Court of Israel with 'the place for the tread of Israel': a precarious assumption. On the whole, I think the explanation which I have suggested above is the most probable.

[2] The Court of Israel (or at least its eastern end) lay on substructions which were necessary from the slope of the hill, and which formed vaults opening into the Court of Women; עזרת נשים; 'Mid.' ii. 5 f.

[3] 'Middoth' ii. 5.

Except this gallery, all the Women's Court was open to men. It was a large court, 135 cubits square, and probably the finance with much other business of the Temple was transacted within it. There is no direct statement of this.[1] But we may infer so from the comparative size of the court, from the large chambers at its corners and the vaults under the Court of Israel which opened on to it, and from the fact that the treasures and private deposits[2] which the Temple held were certainly kept within the inner Temple, while the business they involved would more naturally be transacted in the Court of Women than in either the Court of Israel or the Court of the Priests, which were devoted to the worship and to processes immediately pertaining to this. In the Women's Court, then, we are to place the Temple strong-rooms and the thirteen trumpet-shaped money-boxes into which the faithful put their legal and voluntary offerings.[3] The Gospels certainly imply that women had access to these, and describe them by one word—the Treasury: *the crowd cast money into the Treasury, and a poor widow coming up cast in two lepta.*[4] In another passage the name seems to be given to the Women's Court as a whole.[5]

[1] Compare the statement that it was 'the camp of Levi.'

[2] See vol. i. 365; vol. ii. 428.

[3] For the size of the court and the chambers, 'Middoth' ii. 5. Of the שופרות or 'trumpets,' 'Shekalim' vi. 1, 5, says merely that they stood in the Mikdash or Mikdash shel-baith, the sanctuary of the House; that six were for freewill offerings and seven for specific dues which are named. Josephus, xix. *Ant.* vi. 1, says that the γαζοφυλάκιον was in the inner enclosure of the Temple; the γαζοφυλάκια, which he mentions in v. *B.J.* v. 2 and vi. *B.J.* v. 2, are all the chambers or לשכות which lay round the walls of the whole inner court, and not merely the treasuries in the Women's Court. Yet in the former passage he associates them with this Court.

[4] Mark xii. 41 ff.; Luke xxi. 1 f.

[5] John viii. 20; cf. 2 Macc. iii. 24, 28.

The Court of Israel was surrounded by a high wall (25 cubits = 43 feet), with a cloister and chambers on the inside, while round the outside ran a narrow terrace known as the Ḥêl, or fortification,[1] and outside this the Soreg, a latticed barrier, with copies of the inscription warning foreigners not to pass within on pain of death.[2] The question is whether the Court of the Women did not also lie within this double boundary of Ḥêl and Soreg, fortification and ritual fence. Josephus appears to imply that it did.[3] In one passage the Mishna implies that it lay outside, but in others that it was included.[4] The inclusion has thus a large balance of evidence in its favour, and is in itself the more probable supposition. The notices on the Soreg warned off only foreigners, and not Israelite women. The Jews would hardly have left their women outside the protective enclosure, and nearer to the Gentiles in the great outer court than to themselves. The same consideration applies to the treasuries, which were always placed within the Sanctuary,[5] and to the money-boxes, to which indeed the Gospels clearly state that women had access. On the whole, therefore, the inclusion of the Women's Court within the Inner Sanctuary is extremely probable, if not certain; and we must again read the ambiguities of the Mishna as reflect-

Did it lie in the Inner Temple?

[1] The Ḥêl (חיל) was properly both the wall and the terrace of 11 cubits round the outside of it: 'Kelim' i. 8.

[2] Vol. i. 425.

[3] xix. *Ant.* vi. 1.

[4] 'Middoth' i. 4, which gives only three gates on each of the north and south sides of 'the Court.' 'Middoth' ii. 6, which gives four gates on each of the north and south sides—and calls one of the former 'the gate of women.' 'Kelim' i. 8 distinctly states that the Ct. of Women lay within, and was holier than, the Ḥêl.

[5] See the LXX. of Neh. xiii. 7; also 2 Macc. iii. 24 ff.

ing a dim recollection of different stages in the history of the Temple: one when 'the Court' had but three gates on the north and on the south respectively; and one when a separate Women's Court was constructed to the east of it, or (at least) included within it, and 'the Court' had four gates on each side: the latest and most easterly of each row opening into the Women's Court.[1] The Women's Court, then, was one of the latest developments of the growth of the Temple, and the memory of this was preserved in the wall which ran between it and the court of Israel; as in the tradition that it was less holy than the latter.[2] In the last years of the Temple, when the Evangelists and Josephus knew it, the Women's Court had become an integral part of the Inner Sanctuary, within the Ḥêl and the Soreg; and of this the Mishna, too, has preserved a tradition. The surrounding wall, then, had nine gates, four on the south, four on the north, and one on the east, out of the Women's Court into the Court of the Gentiles. In addition there was a gate between the Courts of Israel and the Women, the gate of Corinthian bronze. Which of these two gates opening to the east is to be identified with the Gate of Nikanor and *the Gate Beautiful* is uncertain.[3] The Mishna implies that the Gate of Nikanor was the inner of the two.[4]

Everything that has been described up to this point—

[1] For an argument that the Ct. of the Women lay outside the wall, the Ḥêl and the Soreg, see Büchler, *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, 1898, July and October.

[2] 'Kelîm' i. 8.

[3] Acts iii. 2.

[4] 'Middoth' i. 4; in ii. 3 it seems to set this gate on the boundary wall of the Inner Temple, which it now (ii. 6) implies enclosed the Women's Court. These passages, as we have seen, may reflect different stages in the growth of the Temple.

the House proper, the Court of Priests with the great Altar, the Court of Israel, the Court of Women with the Treasury — possessed a special sanctity and lay within their own double enclosure: a high, towered and gated wall, surrounded by a narrow terrace, the Ḥêl, and a ritual fence, the Soreg. They formed the Inner Temple, the Second Temple, the Sanctuary, as Josephus variously defines it;[1] the Temple (proper) according to the Soreg inscription;[2] in the Mishna the Sanctuary, or the Sanctuary of the House,[3] or even the House and House of the Sanctuary,[4] in that wider sense to which both these terms might be stretched according to an ancient practice of the language.[5] *Minus* the Women's Court, it is also called by the Mishna 'The Court' or 'The Whole Court.'[6] Only Israelites, and these only when ceremonially clean, could enter the Inner Temple. From the Soreg inwards all was holy ground, though, of course, with varying degrees of sanctity.[7] But the Ḥêl or 'fortification' constituted the Inner Sanctuary into a fortress as well — a separate citadel which in 70 A.D. the Jews were able to hold for some time after Titus had taken the outer cloisters on the north and penetrated the Court of the Gentiles.[8]

The Inner Temple or Sanctuary of the House.

Fourteen steps lower than the Ḥêl lay the wide outer

[1] Τὸ ἔνδον ἱερόν, vi. *B.J.* iv. 4, τοῦ ἐνδοτέρω ναοῦ, v. 3; τὸ δεύτερον ἱερὸν ἁγίον ἐκαλεῖτο, v. *B.J.* v. 2. For the 'First Temple' see above, p. 495 *n.* 3.

[2] Vol. i. 425, within its double enclosure of τρύφαξ, that is the Soreg, and περιβολός, that is the Ḥêl and the wall together.

[3] מקדש של בית or מקדש, 'Shekalim' vi. 1, 5.

[4] בית המקדש; בית, 'Mid.' i. 1.

[5] Above, p. 256.

[6] 'Middoth' i. 4, 'the Court' with seven gates (*i.e. minus* the Women's Court, which added two more; see above, p. 512); *Id.* ii. 6, v. 1, 'the whole Court.'

[7] For these degrees see *Mishna*, 'Kelim' i. 8 f.

[8] vi. *B.J.* iv. 4 ff.

Court, the Court of the Gentiles, surrounding the Inner Temple on all sides, but with much the greatest space on the south, and with the next greatest on the east.[1] The Inner Temple, therefore, did not lie in the middle of the Court of the Gentiles, but towards its north-western corner, round the summit of the Temple-Mount, now the rock es-Ṣakhra, on which the Altar was placed. We have seen that Herod built vast substructions on the lower slopes of the mount and over the Tyropœon Valley, in order to form this spacious outer Court and lift its surface near to the level of the Inner Sanctuary, about the summit: thus creating the immense platform, still extant as the outer Ḥaram area. The passages in which Josephus compares the Temple areas of Solomon and Herod respectively[2] are somewhat obscure. Their construction is involved, and not without traces (in one passage at least) of confusion between the very different operations of the two kings upon the Outer Court and its surrounding walls. To begin with, although Josephus states in one place that fresh banks, enlarging the Temple area, were added at some periods between Solomon and Herod[3]—and we have seen this to be the case, during the Greek period, with Zerubbabel's or the intermediate Temple—yet in general he speaks of only two Temples, and in one passage as if that of Solomon had been succeeded immediately by that of Herod.[4] We must understand that by Solomon's Temple area Josephus means in this passage the Temple area of Zerubbabel enlarged by the

The Outer Court or Court of the Gentiles.

[1] *Mishna*, 'Middoth' ii. 1.
[2] xv. *Ant.* xi. 3; 1 *B.J.* xxi. 1; v. *B.J.* v. 2.
[3] v. *B.J.* v. 1.
[4] xv. *Ant.* xi. 3.

High-Priest Simon in the third century B.C., and by others also, as it stood just before Herod began his reconstructions. Again, although Josephus distinctly states that Herod's Temple area was double that which preceded it,[1] yet in another passage he describes Solomon's outer and lower Temple wall as 'starting from the root' or 'bottom,' that is of the Temple-Mount.[2] But if Solomon's Temple area had covered the whole Temple-Mount from the bottom (as the Ḥaram area now does), no room would have been left, at least on the eastern slope, for Herod's extension of the sacred precincts; and besides, we have seen that in Nehemiah's time there were houses on this eastern slope between the Temple enclosure and the City wall above the Kidron.[3] Solomon's outer and lower Temple wall must therefore have risen on the east, not from the bottom of the Mount but some way up it. In fact, in this last passage the description of the outer enclosure—'carried to a [great] height[4] so that the extent and altitude of the structure, which was rectangular, was immense, . . . and he filled up the hollows round [the inside of] the wall till he made them of the same level as, and flush with, the surface of the upper parts of the Mount'—reads as if it had been originally intended for a description rather of Herod's Temple area than of Solomon's.[5] In any case the description agrees

[1] I *B.J.* xxi. 1: 'he rebuilt the Naos, and round it he walled in a space double that which was' already enclosed.

[2] xv. *Ant.* xi. 3 (398 in Niese's edition).

[3] Vol. i. 199 f.

[4] Or 'carried forward to the depth [outside],' xv. *Ant.* xi. 3 (398).

[5] As it stands the passage, xv. *Ant.* xi. 3 (398-400), is undoubtedly arranged so as to read as a description of Solomon's Temple, for (1) Solomon's is the name mentioned immediately before it, 398; and (2) immediately after, it is still the older Temple area which is described, as being a

with the present disposition of the Ḥaram, whose enclosing walls spring from 'the root' of the Temple-Mount, whose outer area rests upon 'hollows filled up' by vast substructions, and whose higher central platform, representing, in part at least, the Inner Temple of Josephus, lies 'round the summit' of the Mount, the rock eṣ-Ṣakhra. And we have already seen evidence that at least the south-west corner of the Ḥaram, the south wall and the east wall as far north as the so-called 'Golden Gate,' is Herod's masonry.[1] It is true that the colonnade along the inside of this wall was called Solomon's, and that Phœnician letters have been discovered on some of its lowest courses. But neither of these facts can be taken as proof either that the wall dates from Solomon's time or that Solomon's outer and lower Temple wall stood so far east as this. For the name Solomon's Porch, like many other structures called after that monarch, does not imply that he built it, and the Phœnician letters may have been mason-marks as late as the time of Herod.[2] We have also seen that the north wall of the Ḥaram is probably not Herod's. The north wall of his Court of the Gentiles lay further south, crossing the present Ḥaram from a point a little north of the Golden Gate to near the Bab en-Nâzir. The Mishna defines the Temple area as a square of 500 cubits, that is 860 feet.[3]

Inside these outer walls Herod erected magnificent colonnades. The finest was the southern, the Stoa

stadium in each direction, and as having been adorned by many kings in former times, and by Herod himself with the spoils he had taken from the Arabians. But either Josephus has written the whole section hurriedly, and in the description quoted above Herod must be taken as the nominative to the verbs; or else the sentences have become disarranged.

[1] Vol. i. 232 f. [2] Vol. i. 233, 238 *n.* 3. [3] 'Mid.' ii. 1.

Basilica or Royal Cloister, with 162 Corinthian columns in four rows. Each of the others had two rows. The eastern was known as Solomon's.[1] At least eight gates pierced the walls. On the north was the Gate Tadi.[2] On the east was the Gate Shushan, probably that now called 'the Golden,' the masonry of which appears to belong to a later period than the Herodian. On the south, low down in the wall, were at least the two Gates of Ḥuldah, the present Double and Triple Gates, with passages leading up under the Royal Cloister to the Inner Temple. These gave way to the Temple from the Lower City. On the west the Mishna records only one gate, Kiponus; but, with the bulk of the City on the West Hill, there must have been more. Josephus mentions four. The fragment known as Robinson's Arch, the lintel of an old gateway which appears a little to the north, and, still further north, Wilson's Arch, probably indicate the positions of three of these gates.

The Outer Cloisters and Gates.

The Outer Court within its massive, strongly gated walls, was known to the Jews as the Mountain of the House.[3] The name, so far as Herod's Temple is concerned, is an anachronism; reminiscent of days when this part of the East Hill was an actual mount, with the Temple disposed round its summit, and, below the Temple wall, houses down the slopes to Ophel on the south, and to the edges of the valleys which encompassed it west, east and north-east.

Other Names for the Outer Temple.

[1] John x. 23; Acts iii. 11 f., v. 12.

[2] 'Mid.' i. 3.

[3] הר הבית distinguished in 'Middoth' i. 1 from 'the Court' or Inner Sanctuary (cf. i. 3, five gates to the Mt. of the H. with i. 4, seven to the Court), and still more clearly in ii. 1, where it is described as east, west, north and south of the latter; cf. ii. 3 where the Soreg is said to be inside of it.

But now the mount was masked beneath an artificial plateau within walls that rose from 'its root' nearly to the level of its summit. The Jews seem, too, to have applied to the Outer Court the name Birah or Castle, yet this may also have been used as in former times for the whole Temple.[1] The Court of the Gentiles is variously designated by Josephus as the First, Outer and Lower Temple.[2] Taken along with the Inner Temple, he calls it 'the whole Temple.'[3]

Such, then, was the Third Temple of Jerusalem: sanctuary within sanctuary, fortress within fortress—with an adjunct and dominating castle off its north-west corner. We are standing on the road from Bethany as it breaks round the Mount of Olives, and are looking north-west; this is what we see. Instead of the round and steep Temple-Mount, which has hitherto been visible, the fourth eminence of the East Hill, with a Temple disposed about its summit, but on its lower slopes houses girdled by the eastern wall of the City; there spreads a vast stone stage, almost rectangular, some 400 yards north and south by 300 east and west, held up above Ophel and the Kidron valley by a high and massive wall, from 50 to 150 feet and more in height, according to the levels of the rock from which it rises.[4] Deep cloisters surround this platform on the inside of the walls. Upon the east one large gate gives way from it

Appearance of the Whole.

[1] בירה 'Middoth' i. 9; from the house Moked on the Ḥêl a winding passage led under the Birah, by which priests who became unclean could pass outside the Temple without treading on consecrated ground. This implies that the Birah here means all outside the Ḥêl. Yet R. Obadiah in his note says that the whole sanctuary was called the Birah. Cf. 'Tamîd' i.

[2] v. *B.J.* v. 8; vi. *B.J.* iv. 4.

[3] xv. *Ant.* xi. 3, § 402.

[4] The best idea of the height of the Ḥaram walls is got from Warren's elevations in the *Recovery of Jerus.* facing p. 118. The lowest height was above Ophel, 52 feet; the highest over Kidron, 170.

into the Kidron. On the south, two and perhaps three gates pierce the wall below the level of the cloisters and lead up under these to the middle of the platform. Through the west wall four gates give entrance from the Upper City, which rises theatre-wise in the background and is topped by Herod's Towers and Palace. On the north wall one gate leads in from the overlooking suburb of Bezetha. Every gate has its watch, and other guards patrol the courts.[1] The crowds, which pour through the south gates upon the great platform, for the most part keep to the right; the exceptions, turning westwards, are excommunicated or in mourning.[2] But the crowd are not all Israelites. Numbers of Gentiles mingle with them; there are costumes and colours from all lands. In the cloisters sit teachers with groups of disciples about them. On the open pavement stand the booths of hucksters and money-changers; and from the north sheep and bullocks are being driven towards the Inner Sanctuary. This lies not in the centre of the great platform, but towards its north-west corner. It is a separately fortified, oblong enclosure; its high walls with their nine gates rising from a narrow terrace at a slight elevation above the platform, and the terrace encompassed by a fence, within which none but Israelites may pass. This Inner Sanctuary and fortress is nearly 185 yards from east to west and some 77 from north to south.[3] Upon its

[1] Philo, *De Praemiis Sacerdotum*, vi. The *Mishna*, 'Mid.' i. 1 f., describes the watches at the corners, and at only some of the gates, besides the patrols; but the whole passage seems to refer to the discipline during the night.

[2] 'Middoth' ii. 2.

[3] 'The whole court,' 187 cubits, *plus* 'the Court of Women,' 135 cubits ('Mid.' ii. 5 f. v. i.) = 322 cubits. At 20·67 inches to the sacred cubit, most probably the one used, we get 554·64 feet, or nearly 185 yards. If we add to this twice the breadth of the Hêl, 20 cubits = 34·45 ft., we get 589 ft. The breadth (N. to S.) without the Hêl was 135 cubits, which on the same reckoning is 232·53 ft.

higher western end rises a House, 'like a lion, broad in front and narrow behind'—57 yards broad in front and of that length and height throughout. From the open porch of this House stone steps descend to a great block of an Altar, perpetually smoking with sacrifices; and to the north of the Altar are its shambles with living animals and rows of carcases. Priests in white garments move to and fro among these objects, or ascend the slope to the Altar, or stand round its hearth serving the sacrifices, or pass up and down the steps to the House. East of all this runs a barrier, and the space outside is packed with men. Then a wall and the lower eastern end of the Inner Sanctuary: the Temple-Treasury and exchange, filled with a crowd of Levites in charge of the people's offerings, hucksters, money-changers and worshippers on their way to the inner court, and above them a gallery of women. Off the north-west of the Outer Sanctuary a castle dominates the whole from its four lofty towers. Beyond, as has been said, the Upper City rises in curved tiers like a theatre. Against that crowded background, the Sanctuary with its high House gleams white and fresh. But the front of the House glittering with gold plates is obscured by a column of smoke rising from the Altar; and the Priests' Court about the latter is coloured by the slaughters and sacrifices—a splash of red as our imagination takes it in the centre of the prevailing white. At intervals there are bursts of music; the singing of psalms, the clash of cymbals and a great blare of trumpets, at which the people in their court in the Inner Sanctuary fall down and worship.[1]

[1] 2 Chron. xxix. 26 ff.; *Mishna*, 'Tamíd' vii. 3, etc.

CHAPTER XIX

THE TEMPLE AND THE LORD

SUCH were the Shrine, Altar and Courts which constituted the last Temple of Jerusalem. We have now to examine the worship they embodied, and this not merely in order to complete our survey of the Jewish religion through the history of the First and Second Temples,[1] but because from the short-lived Third Temple, Israel's final and most elaborate sanctuary, tradition has dated the origins of Christianity[2]—in the promise of an immediate Messiah, revealed during the routine of its worship and to the prayers of its regular congregation. The Third Temple was that to which Christ came, which He used, and which He judged; that to which for a time His disciples adhered, and their relinquishment of which formed the most potential crisis in the history of the Church. Part of the historical connection between the two religions thus ran through the Third Temple. And whatever of essential difference distinguished the new from the old is best illustrated by the principles of its worship. In the main the difference was one between an Institution and a Person. The Messiah promised to the Temple supplanted the Temple.

The Temple: Israel and Christianity.

[1] Above, pp. 72 ff., 310 ff.

[2] Luke i., ii.

It is this religious revolution which forms the subject of the present chapter, and leads our long work—begun among the physical rudiments of the life of Jerusalem, and pursued through the closely interwoven developments of her economy, politics and religion—to its end in Jesus Christ. Put what meaning we may into the facts, History has nowhere else such facts to offer. Nor is our assurance of them dependent on still unfinished processes of criticism. About the broad results there is no question: the rise of a new religion from the heart and the home of the old one, the hesitating steps upon which at first it ventured, and its final break from the Jewish system in the faith that all which this had mediated was become more directly and surely possible through the Person and Work of Jesus. Even before the great Sanctuary perished at the hands of Rome, and Israel's Altar was for ever quenched, Jesus in the experience of His followers had taken the place of the Temple and of everything for which it stood.

The Temple Worship—1. The Nation.

The Temple was the approach of a Nation to their God. Israelites alone could enter its Inner Sanctuary, and its standard rites were performed in the name and for the sake of the whole People. At the crisis of the Sacred Year, the Day of Atonement, when the High Priest entered the Holy of Holies alone, he did so as the representative of Israel; conversely his sins were theirs, and the additional offering which he made for himself covered them also.[1] The Tamid or 'Standing Sacrifice,' offered twice a day on the

[1] Lev. iv. 3: Patrick Fairbairn's *Typology*, ii. 263 f.

high altar, was the offering of the Nation.[1] Every Jew contributed to its maintenance.[2] So closely was it identified with the public welfare, that in times of stress all other sacrifices were abandoned before it was, and its stoppage meant the utmost calamity to the state.[3] Each of its celebrations was attended by a formal committee of the nation,[4] and its national character was further expressed by the seven Psalms appointed for its weekly rotation.[5] The Gospel of Luke opens with the service of incense accompanying the Tamîd. *And the whole multitude of the people were without praying at the hour of incense:*[6] this, though it seems an exaggerated expression, is a formally correct description of the lay congregation which attended every service of the Tamîd. Compare the communal phrases which follow: *to make ready for the Lord a people prepared; the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob; He hath holpen Israel His servant that He might remember covenant mercy towards Abraham and his seed for ever;* the similar phrases, of which the Song of Zacharias is full; and finally, *looking for the consolation of Israel.*[7] That Luke, the Gentile evangelist, should have depicted

[1] עלת התמיד or התמיד: Num. xxviii. 3 ff.; Dan. viii. 11 ff., xi. 31; *Mishna*, 'Tamîd'; a whole burnt-offering and meal-offering accompanied with a service of incense. [2] Vol. i. 357, 359.

[3] Daniel viii. 11 ff.; xi. 31; xii. 11; Josephus vi. *B.J.* ii. 1; *Mishna*, 'Ta'anith' iv. 6: בטל התמיד.

[4] Israel was divided for the purpose into twenty-four 'watches,' representatives of each of which in succession formed with the corresponding 'watch' of Priests and Levites a 'station' for the service. *Mishna*, 'Ta'anith' iv. 2 ff.; to be corrected by the corresponding passage in the *Tosephta*; cf. *Mishna*, 'Tamîd' v. 6. For details see Lightfoot, *Ministerium Templi*, vii. 3 (*Opera* i. 700); Schürer, *Gesch.*(3) ii. § 24 *n.*

[5] Psalms xxiv., xlviii., lxxxii., xciv., lxxxi., xciii., xcii.; 'Tamîd' vii. 4.

[6] Luke i. 10.

[7] Luke i. 17, 32 f., 54, 68 ff.; ii. 25.

this communal character of the Temple worship is proof of his fidelity to historical situations of which he had not been an eye-witness, nor with which he had any congenital sympathy; and the proof is the more emphatic if, as Professor Harnack has argued, the early chapters of the Gospel are not a translation from an Aramaic document, but Luke's own reproduction of oral tradition.[1] Thus the worship of the Temple was corporate, communal, national. Although, as we shall see, there was room for the individual piety which Jeremiah asserted contemporaneously with the Deuteronomic proclamation of the Covenant as one with all-Israel, yet the latter was the dominant and organic principle of the worship; and the individual took his part in this only as a member of the Chosen Nation.

2. The Gentiles and their Sacrifices.

But secondly, the Prophets had predicted the coming of the Gentiles *to the mount of the House of the Lord—My House shall be called a House of Prayer for all peoples*;[2] and the Law had provided for the admission of proselytes and implied that sacrifices might be rendered by those who were alien to Israel.[3] The kinds of offerings acceptable from them were even defined.[4] Such hopes and tolerances were signalised by the Court of the Gentiles. The most spacious of all the divisions of the Temple, it typified a

[1] *Luke the Physician*, Eng. trans., especially 12 f., 24, 96-105, 199. If, as Harnack argues, Luke composed the Magnificat and the Song of Zacharias, their fidelity to the essential form of the Jewish religion is evidence that he must have been an enthusiastic proselyte to Judaism for some time before he became a Christian. But to an Old Testament student, the other alternative, of translation from Aramaic originals, seems the more probable.

[2] Isa. ii. 2 f.; lvi. 7.

[3] Lev. xxii. 25.

[4] *Mishna*, 'Shekalim' i. 5, vii. 6; 'Zebahim' iv. 5; 'Menahoth' v. 3, 5 f., vi. 1, ix. 8. Gentiles could not place their hands on their offerings.

world gathered about Mount Sion, and suggested the short and single step which still separated the Gentiles from full communion with Israel. More obscure is the meaning of the Gentile sacrifices. Offerings had been accepted from the Greek sovereigns of Judæa and other notable foreigners, but the national party were hostile to their admission.[1] Even if they could be technically regarded as gifts to Israel, to enable the nation to fulfil its own dues to God, the thought can never have been far away that the persons of their donors were also acceptable before Him. We must guard, however, against the opinion that the crowds of Hellenist Jews, and their familiarity with the Greek world, favoured liberal views on the subject. From various motives the Hellenists were even less disposed to relaxation than the Hebrews of Jerusalem.[2] To all alike, the Nation, Israel, was still the human partner in the Covenant with God.

3. The Mediating Priesthood

But the nation did not make its approach to God, at least through the most intimate stages of this, in the persons of all its members. Whereas in the First Temple the laity had been admitted to the inmost Court, and Solomon had ministered at the Altar, in the Third Temple the laity were excluded by a barrier, and Herod, though king, could not present his own offerings.[3] Every most sacred rite was performed by priests, and the Holy of Holies was entered by the High Priest alone. This reservation of the immediate Presence of God to one hereditary order, the sons of Aaron, was connected with a change of emphasis among

[1] And protested in 6 A.D. See Schürer, *Geschichte d. jüd. Volkes, etc.*(3) ii. § 24, Appendix.

[2] Cf. Acts vi. 9; ix. 29.

[3] Josephus, xv. *Ant.* xi. 5.

the various values attributed to Sacrifice. In primitive times every slaughter of a domestic animal was a sacrament, and every house-father might perform it. In the first sanctuaries of the people the feast shared with the Deity by the worshippers determined if not the sole, yet the predominant, character of the ritual. Even in Deuteronomy, worship is *eating and rejoicing before God.* The priest burnt the fat, the Deity's share of the Covenant feast, and had his own legal due from the flesh; but his office seems to have been connected more with the oracle than with the victim. The earlier priest was a teacher and a judge,[1] rather than a mediator or minister of expiation. This festival character of sacrifice was not destroyed by the centralisation of the cultus, but it was greatly diminished. The proportion of sacrifices, which were not feasts but services wholly of atonement, gradually increased, as we may see by comparing the Deuteronomic code with the Levitical, and both with the practice of the earlier kingdom. In the third century B.C., Theophrastus the Greek observed that 'the Jews do not eat their offerings, but burn them entire.'[2] So absolute a negative is, of course, wrong; yet it is certain that in the Third Temple the piacular aspects of sacrifice prevailed over every other. And in consequence, the position of the priests as the necessary mediators between God and man was deeply confirmed. The consummation of every sacrifice, the offering of blood and incense, the entrance to the Presence of God, were lawful for priests alone. This requirement of a mediating priesthood and of sacrifice, Christianity

and Sacrifices.

[1] Hosea iv. 6; Micah iii. 11; cf. Deut. xxxiii. 10, for both offices.

[2] The passage is given in Reinach, *Textes*, etc., 7 f.

took over from Judaism, as an assumed principle of religion.

Israel's approach to God through priests and sacrifices was made in order to fulfil the Covenant into which He of His mercy had called them, that they might become a holy Nation to Himself. He was very jealous of sins, whether against the moral conditions of the Covenant or against the ceremonial law, which at once expressed and guarded the awfulness of His Presence. He demanded restitution for sins, but in the Temple service He had provided the means for this, and upon the use of the means was ready to forgive and to restore His erring people. Thus the God of Israel, He was also Creator of all things, God alone, Omnipotent in Nature and History alike. In the Third Temple we miss some cosmic symbols which were present in Solomon's.[1] But the seven Psalms of the Tamîd celebrate both God's deeds in History and His cosmic power: the latter especially in the verse which opens the series, and in the Psalms of the fifth and sixth days of the week.[2] And, if Josephus be right, the vast entrance of the Porch symbolised Heaven, the colours of the First Veil the elements, the Seven Lamps the Seven Planets, the twelve loaves of the Presence the signs of the Zodiac and the circuit of the year: while 'the Altar of Incense with its thirteen odorous spices signified that God is the possessor of all things, in both the uninhabitable and the habitable world.'[3] Yet amid all this symbolism God Himself was not adored in any material form. One could

4. The God of the Temple.

[1] Above, p. 75 f.

[2] Ps. xxiv. 1; lxxxi., xciii.

[3] v. *B.J.* v. 4 f. There are similar ideas in Philo. Against them see Patrick Fairbairn, *Typology*, ii. 253 f.

represent only His Presence or Dwelling, and this was double. God was both the Far and the Near; above all things, filling the Heavens and yet abiding with His people. The antithesis is similar to that in the creed and worship of the First Temple.[1] During the later centuries and in the silence of the living word of Prophecy, the impression of God's Transcendence prevailed over the experience of His Intimacy, and 'God of Heaven,' or even 'Heaven' alone, came to be one of His commonest designations. Yet this conception was linked to the other and nearer by the closest name men have ever found for Him: 'your Father in Heaven.'[2] He had chosen Israel for His own, and He dwelt with Israel. The Temple was His earthly seat; and the Rabbis accepted the Deuteronomic explanation of this by saying that 'His Name dwelt there':[3] the practical and experimental meaning of which we have already learned.[4]

The Double Worship—*a.* Towards Heaven.

Conformably to this double conception of God's Presence — transcendent and indwelling — the Temple contained a great Altar beneath the open heavens and a Mercy-Seat within a dark and windowless House. From the Altar sacrifices ascended in smoke to the Divine Throne. Smoke symbolised many things to the religious feelings of Israel: God's Presence, the confusion of mortals when they encountered it, His wrath, the torments of the wicked, the evanescence of everything material before the blast of His Spirit. The smoke of sacrifices of which the worshippers consumed part had been conceived as the Deity's share in the feast. But the smoke of the whole

[1] Above, p. 74.
[2] *Mishna*, 'Yoma' viii. 9.
[3] *Id.* i. 5.
[4] Above, p. 311.

burnt-offering was the people's confession of their sin, their surrender through death and fire of the lives He was pleased to take in place of their guilty and forfeit selves. The sin, the contrition, the repentance of a nation—this was what the dark column meant which rose from the Altar and melted away in the infinite purity of the skies. *I have blotted out as a thick cloud thy transgressions, and as a cloud thy sins.* If ethical processes must be expressed in material forms, no sacrament could be more adequate than this, which proved at once the death deserved by sin, its purification by fire, and the disappearance of its blackness and bitterness in the unfathomable mercy of Heaven.

b. Towards the House.

Behind the Altar rose the House, the dwelling of God with men. The vast and doorless Porch was the symbol of an approach as free and clear as opened above the Altar: 'the unobstructed openness of Heaven.'[1] But behind were a veil and a door, and after the Holy Place another veil and then a dark and empty room. For as God was invisible and inscrutable yonder, so was He even here. His Presence was darkness itself, and no mind nor hand might image Him. As from the Altar the smoke ascended to the heavens, so into 'the House of the Atonement' they brought the Blood, that also was expiation by death, the Bread of the Presence, and the Incense, which, whatever may have suggested its first use, was regarded as well-pleasing to God, a propitiation (therefore offered first in the outer chamber), and perhaps, too, a symbol of the people's prayers.[2]

[1] Above, p. 503.

[2] Perfumes shed in the presence of kings, cf. Ephes. v. 2; for the placating of wrath, atonement, Num. xvi. 46 ff. (Eng. = xvii. 11 ff. Heb.); prayers, Ps. cxli. 2; Rev. v. 8, viii. 3 f.

The ethical effect of all this must have been double and contradictory. On the one hand, the faith of the worshippers was drawn into the unseen: *it was anchored within the veil.* From the visible, the material, the finite, their hearts went out to an empty darkness which was the most fruitful suggestion possible of the invisibleness and immateriality of the things which are eternal. From their own works, from rites performed by themselves, their faith was lifted to a work done *for* them and accepted solely of the grace of God. Such, we may take it, was in the main the beneficial influence exercised by the Jewish system on the minds of the worshippers. The Temple carried faith at least in the right direction. *My soul longeth, yea even fainteth, for the courts of the Lord: my heart and my flesh cry out for the living God.* Nor did the rites, though predominantly national, fail to meet the individual as well. Save in a pedantic logic, these two ideas of religion, the corporate and the personal, are not incompatible. As none know better than we Christians, they may sincerely, and indeed inevitably do, exist together in the consciousness of the worshipper. Moreover, the multitude of private sacrifices for which the Temple provided were wholly personal, while the Psalms of its most national service, the Tamid, emphasise the moral purity required from every individual worshipper.[1] Men *went up into the Temple to pray*, each for himself and after his own temper.[2] For the day of Atonement the Mishna details not only the duties of the High Priest, but the proper conduct of the private Israelite, and inculcates the sincere repentance of every

Ethical Effects.

[1] Especially Psalm xxiv. 3 ff.

[2] Luke xviii. 10.

man.[1] It is true that the sacrifices atoned only for sins of ignorance, whether against the ethical or the ritual laws—*the ignorances of the people*, says the Epistle to the Hebrews[2]—and that, as in the same epistle, conscious crime or apostasy was not remediable by them.[3] But while this was the technical meaning of the Law, spiritual minds must have found in the worship the seals of a more ethical pardon, the means of a deeper sanctification. Behind all was the infinite mercy of God, and the keenest eyes which ever looked into the heart of man saw one who, if not formally excommunicated, was yet an outcast, appeal to that mercy not in vain and go down to his house justified.[4]

Other Ideals —Prophecy.

On the other hand, the imperfect character of the system must have been felt by those who cherished the loftier ideals and promises of the prophets. That a man could not by himself come through the Inner Sanctuary to God, that a professional priesthood could alone enter the most secret communion with the Deity, that things not ethical intervened between the worshipper and God — such facts were bound to raise questions in the more earnest minds and to leave them unsatisfied.[5] The Temple itself had not always been monopolised by priestly ideals: it had

[1] *Mishna*, 'Yoma' viii., especially section 9. For a noble exposition of the relation of the modern Jew to the Day of Atonement, see C. G. Montefiore, *The Bible for Home Reading*, Part i. 146 ff.

[2] ix. 7 (not *errors*): cf. Lev. iv. 2, 13, 22, 27; v. 15; Num. xv. 24 ff.

[3] Heb. x. 26; Num. xv. 30.

[4] Luke x. 13 f. On the exclusion, if not the excommunication, of the publican, see vol. i. 368 *n.* 2.

[5] In this connection the reported disuse of animal sacrifices by the Essenes is instructive: Josephus xviii. *Ant.* i. 5; cf. Schürer, *Gesch.*[3] § 30, **'The Essenes.'**

also been the platform of a purely ethical prophecy.[1] To devout Jews familiar with their Scriptures, their Sanctuary must have seemed as loud with voices hostile to sacrifice as with the bleating of animals, the murmur of the priests at their ministry, and the cries and music which accompanied the public services. In these very courts Isaiah had announced that God's only requirements from Israel were pure hearts and ethical service. He proclaimed a pardon, free of all rites, to that conviction which comes when God Himself has reasoned with the soul. Jeremiah, too, had here protested that God gave no commandments concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices, but called upon His people only for obedience.[2] Others outside the Temple had said the same: *I will not smell a savour in your solemn gatherings, . . . but let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness like a perennial stream. I desire mercy and not sacrifice, the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings.*[3] We must also remember that both the ideals of prophecy and the actual experience of the nation had accustomed the mind of Israel to the assurance of pardon apart from ritual. Jeremiah's promise in the New Covenant, *I will forgive their iniquity and their sin I will remember no more*, rested upon the immediate and spiritual knowledge of God possessed by all the individuals of the nation.[4] And the greatest *consolation of Israel* which their history knew had been achieved while the Temple was in ruins and sacrifice impossible, upon the sole basis of the people's sufferings and the free grace of God: *Comfort ye, com-*

[1] Above, p. 67. [2] Isa. i. 10-20; Jer. vii. 22.
[3] Amos v. 21 ff.; Hosea vi. 6; cf. the sublime passage, xi. 8 f.
[4] Jer. xxxi. 31 ff.

fort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and proclaim to her that her service is accomplished, her iniquity pardoned, that she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins.[1]

Hope of a Personal Mediation.

But Prophecy had also associated the redemption of Israel with the virtue and even with the self-sacrifice of a single Personality. He is described in various forms and under different names, yet with this idea common to them all, that the mediation by which the recovery and the righteousness of the nation are effected is neither material nor mechanical, but lies in the character and service of a voluntary agent. To the earlier prophets this Person is a King. Israel are to be saved from their enemies by his prowess, and to fulfil their life with God under his just government and the influence of his strong and pure individuality.[2] Another prophecy emphasises that in the ideal age everything will depend on personal influence:[3] *A man shall be as an hiding-place from the wind and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. And the eyes of them that see shall not be dim, and the ears of them that hear shall hearken.* So with the Messiah, or promised King.[4] It is remarkable that there is no mention of Temple or sacrificial rites in connection with his office; his personal power counts for everything. Sometimes, however, and in reflection of the political conditions prevailing, the Priest is associated with the Prince. Theirs is 'the equal and co-ordinate duty of sustaining the

[1] 'Isa.' xl. 1 f. See above, p. 283.

[2] Isa. ix. 1 ff.; xi. 1 ff. (on the genuineness of which see above, pp. 145 f.).

[3] Isa. xxxii. 1 ff.

[4] The name Messiah, or Anointed, is given to him in Psalm ii.

Temple and ensuring the brightness of its revelation. The Temple is nothing without the monarch and priest behind it, and these stand in the presence of God,' the essential mediators of the whole system.[1] In Psalm cx. Priest and King are identified as one, again in consonance with the conditions of the time, for the High Priest is now become also the civil ruler of the people. Thus, however the form may change with the changing politics, the idea is constant. The virtue of the mediation is personal. In the Servant of the Lord this truth reaches its fullest expression. A righteous Israelite or the righteous nucleus of Israel, atone by their sufferings for the sins of the people, and through death rise to glory. In the fifty-third of Isaiah it does not matter whether the Servant be still, as in the preceding chapters, the people personified, or whether at last he be conceived as a single personality.[2] The point is, that the atonement of the nation proceeds through an ethical agent who consciously and intelligently undertakes his mission, and the virtue of whose service lies in the voluntary offering of himself.[3]

[1] The present writer's *Twelve Prophets*, ii. 298 on Zechariah iv.

[2] The *Targum of Jonathan* interprets 'Isa.' lii., liii. of the Messiah, and later Jewish theology dwells on the sufferings of the Messiah, with explicit reference to 'Isa.' lii., liii. : Wünsche, *Die Leiden des Messias*; Driver and Neubauer, *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters*; Dalman, *Der leidende u. sterbende Messias*. The *Targum* excepts the verses on the atoning virtue of the Servant's sufferings as inapplicable to the Messiah, and although certain rabbis appear to have admitted that he bore the sins of the wicked, the idea was foreign and even repulsive to Judaism in our Lord's time. See Schürer, *Gesch.*[3], Appendix to § 29.

[3] Edghill, *Evidential Value of Prophecy*, 306 (the whole of this work is valuable for a presentation of the essence of the O.T. religion and its connection with the N.T.), appositely quotes the 'magnificent mistranslation of the Vulgate—oblatus est quia ipse voluit. But the other point ought also to be emphasised : *My servant shall deal wisely* ; that is, knows what he is doing, is conscious from the first of the practical value of his humiliation and sacrifice which to others seems useless and repulsive.

In the presence of such a substitute there is no need of the Temple and its victims. All the virtue associated with the priesthood and the sacrifices is transferred to him, and transferred in the very language of the ritual: *God hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all. For the transgression of My people was He stricken. His life is an offering for guilt. By His knowledge shall My righteous Servant justify many, and He shall bear their iniquities. He bears the sin of many, He makes intercession for the transgressors.*[1]

The Travail and Passion of God.

But Prophecy had also spoken, as though God Himself shared all this travail and suffering. He makes His people's salvation His own concern and effort, and accomplishes this not in power only but in pain and self-sacrifice. His love is not complacent but sympathetic, passionate. *In all their affliction He is afflicted.* He *pleads* for their loyalty, *reasons* with them in their sin, and *travails* for their new birth. Their guilt costs Him pain as well as anger. Their sins and sorrows are set not only in the light of His countenance, but upon His heart. The Evangelist of the Exile uses of God the same heavy word, *to bear with pain and difficulty*, as he has used of the Servant.[2]

The Jewish Apocalypses.

Finally, these truths of Prophecy, or the most of them, had passed before the end of the Temple history, through the forms of vision and of literature, which we know as Apocalypse. Despairing of the redemption of Israel in the present dispensation, and yet believing in the Divine justice, certain ardent souls and schools in Israel predicted the sudden intervention of

[1] 'Isa.' liii. 6, 8, 10 ff.

[2] For a fuller expression of the above truth see the present writer's *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, 174 ff.

God Himself with supernatural forces, resulting in the purgation of this world or even in its overthrow and replacement by new heavens and a new earth. Such ideas had indeed started long before Prophecy closed, and are uttered in several parts of the Old Testament.[1] But they reached their most ardent and systematic expression in a series of Jewish works of the last two centuries before Christ and the first of the Christian era. The various writings from which *The Book of Enoch* has been compiled, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *The Book of Jubilees*, *The Psalms of Solomon*, *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, and the older *Sibylline Oracles*, are the most important survivals of what must have been a much larger mass of apocalyptic literature produced in this period by Jews of Palestine and Egypt.[2] The general standpoint described above was occupied by all these writers; and we may easily conceive how the institutions and ideals of Israel's religion would become modified through the apocalyptic expectations visible from it. But, naturally, the different minds which shared this standpoint assumed different attitudes towards, and laid different emphases upon, the forms which the Law had instituted and the promises which Prophecy had bequeathed to the nation.

[1] See above, pp. 138 ff., on Isaiah. Zephaniah is usually regarded as the first prophet with an apocalypse (*Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 55 f.) The most notable apocalyptic passages of the O.T. are in 'Isaiah' xxiv.-xxvii., Joel, 'Zechariah' xii.-xiv., and Daniel.

[2] English readers will consult 'Apocalyptic Literature' in *Enc. Bibl.* by R. H. Charles, and the other works of this leading authority on the subject (especially his *Book of Enoch*); the *Psalms of Solomon*, by Ryle and James; Schürer, *Hist.* (Eng. trans.), div. ii. vols. ii., iii., §§ 29, 32 f.; J. E. H. Thomson, *Books which influenced our Lord and His Apostles*; W. J. Deane, *Pseudepigrapha*.

As for their theology, the Apocalypses emphasise the Transcendence of God. Heaven is His dwelling and He is the Holy One in the Heavens, the God of glory; who when He would work for men comes down to them in awful manifestations of power and majesty. Amid these supernatural phenomena, the Prophets' sense of God's intimacy with His People, of His ethical travail and passion, is overwhelmed. Yet Israel is still the human unit for which He works. The Nation is His interest: He will overthrow the heathen oppressors and recreate Israel into a kingdom for Himself. Within the Nation He will discriminate between the righteous and the wicked; and He will have respect to the individual: even in death, for the righteous dead shall be raised to a share in the kingdom. In fact, the vindication of the individual and the development of belief in his resurrection are among the most signal services of the Jewish Apocalypse to the cause of religion; it contains no nobler passages than those which enforce the hope of the righteous. With regard to the exact form of so awful a future, we can understand that, as among Christians, so with these Jewish seers, considerable diversity prevailed. Many of them have a strong sense of the steadfastness of the present order of nature; all the more impressive is the obligation, which their ethical convictions lay upon them, to expect its convulsion and catastrophe. Sometimes they are content to say that God's kingdom will be realised upon this same earth, cleansed and restored to the order which the sin of men has disturbed. The whole of the earth shall be the heritage of the pious: its centre a renewed Jerusalem, from whose security the righteous shall behold

Their treatment of the Beliefs and Institutions of Israel.

the torments of the wicked in Gehenna,[1] and themselves enjoy incredible length of days and a serene old age. But sometimes this is not enough, and beyond the present world there breaks the vision of another.[2] A new heaven and earth are revealed, with the righteous translated to everlasting bliss in the presence of God. Some writers almost entirely ignore the Temple, saying nothing about it except that it shall be rebuilt, and absolutely nothing about the Law or Sacrifices. Others carry the origins of the cultus back to primæval times, from which we may infer their belief in its eternal validity; and they insist upon animal sacrifices and the punctilious observance of the Law. Some see God alone in the supernatural intervention, which they expect, and in the foundation of the kingdom. Others continue the prophetic hope of a Messiah proceeding from the community; and in one, the seventeenth of the Psalms of Solomon, He is figured in the prophetic style as a son of David, purging Jerusalem, overcoming the heathen, yet not trusting in military force, but governing by the word of His mouth. Sinless Himself, He shall rule a holy people and tend the flock of God in faith and righteousness. In 'The Similitudes' of the *Book of Enoch*[3] the doctrine of the Messiah assumes an original form destined to have great influence on the New Testament In Daniel, the name *the Son of Man* had been applied to Israel; but in 'The Similitudes' it is the title of a Person who takes the attributes and name of the Messiah, yet is regarded as

[1] As we have seen even under Prophecy, above, pp. 323 f.

[2] Cf. Mark x. 30; Matt. xii. 32; Luke xviii. 30.

[3] Chs. xxxvii.-lxx., assigned by Charles either to 94-79 or 70-64 B.C., and 'reasonably' to the former.

supernatural. He has existed with God, in name at least, from before the Creation, the deliverer and preserver of the elect Israel. He is the Lord's Anointed, who rules over all and judges all, on whose mercy all men at the last shall set their hope.[1] There is also a difference as to the fate of the Gentiles. For the most part their destruction is predicted, but some of them shall be converted and serve Israel.

To understand what Jesus taught of the Kingdom of God and of Himself, and what through the faith of His followers He effected, it is necessary to appreciate in due proportion all the beliefs and institutions which we have just surveyed. And if an Old Testament student may venture to criticise recent New Testament criticism, it appears to him that this suffers, and in certain quarters suffers radically, from failure to allow to one of these religious elements its proper and direct influence on the origins of Christianity. As we have seen, the principal factors in the later religion of Israel were these three. *First*, the Law with its central emphasis upon Institutions, the Temple, the Priesthood, the Ritual; founded, as much of the Law was, on Prophecy, this emphasis did not exhaust its influence, yet in the practice of the Law by the generation contemporary with Jesus, the Institutions were the main things. *Second*, Prophecy with its depreciation of the Ritual and the Priestly Institutions, and with its three great protestations of the sole, eternal value of Personality: that God requires from men only ethical obedience; that their redemption and atonement shall be effected through a

Summary—Three Main Streams in Judaism.

1. The Law—Institutions.

2. Prophecy—Personalities.

[1] See especially *Book of Enoch*, chs. xlvii. f., lxii., lxix.

heroic character and his self-sacrifice, the personality of the Servant of the Lord; and that God Himself is not mere Law nor Love at a distance, but that even His Personality is engaged in the ethical warfare and passion to which ours are subject. And *third*, Apocalypse, starting within Prophecy as this became conscious of want of room and power in the historical conditions of Israel for the fulfilment of its hopes; and predicted the fulfilment of these in another dispensation, which is beyond and above the present world, and in which, while the personalities described by prophecy gain in transcendence and supernatural majesty, this is achieved only at the cost of much of their ethical character.

3. Apocalypse—the Supernatural.

These, then, are the three. There never has been any doubt about the discipline of the Law. But if an older generation of critics did less than justice to the influence of Apocalypse upon the conditions out of which Christianity arose, it seems to the present writer, coming up to the study of recent New Testament criticism from long following of the history of Israel, that much of this criticism fails to allow enough to the immediate action of Prophecy. Carried away by the influences on our Lord's time of the Apocalypses, the full appreciation of which has but recently become possible, some critics almost entirely ignore the direct influence, untinged by Apocalypse, of the Hebrew Prophets. By others the main tendencies of religion during the period are defined as only two, the Legal and the Apocalyptic, while the Prophetic is regarded and treated as subordinate. This may be true of some, but not of all, of the popular religion. It is not true of the circles in which Christianity arose, nor of our Lord's

Their Treatment by recent Criticism.

mind whether about the Jewish system or about Himself. While it is impossible to ignore in these certain contributions from Apocalypse, they prove the immediate and the dominant influence of Prophecy.

No one may understand the origins of Christianity who does not realise in them a revival—after a silence of many centuries—of Prophecy,[1] which, whatever relation it might assume to the ritual and institutions of Israel, felt itself independent of these and delivered its own direct message from God. So in the early chapters of Luke's Gospel. Be their source what it may, they testify to the Church's consciousness of her birth in Prophecy—Prophecy which, though it started in the Temple, was not concentrated on that or any other institution, but struck again its high and earliest notes of the advent of a great Personality, the Messiah of God. This Prophecy (so far as the records go) shows no tinge of Apocalypse. So too with John the Baptist, whose ministry had nothing to do with either Jerusalem or the Temple, but was accomplished outside these, with another sacrament, upon methods purely prophetic, and concentrated on the coming of the Messiah. The colours upon John's preaching may be cast from the Apocalypse; the ideas are all to be found within Prophecy.[2]

Dominant Influence of Prophecy in the Preparation for Jesus

And so, too, with Jesus Himself. It is everywhere the essential ideas and tempers of Prophecy which pervade His ministry—especially the three emphases upon the sole, eternal value of personality in religion: that what God requires of men is ethical obedience, that their redemption is to be effected

and in the ministry of Jesus.

[1] Cf. *Ecce Homo*, ch. i. [2] Luke iii. 2 ff.

through the virtue and self-sacrifice of a single Personality; and that the Love of God Himself has come to share the ethical warfare and passion of men. But all these are concentrated by Jesus in a new and wonderful way upon His own Person and His unique significance for men. They are complicated, too, by His attitude to the Law, and they reveal the influence of conceptions characteristic of the Apocalypse.

His Practice relative to the Law and the Temple.

The child of a Jewish family loyal to the Law and the Temple,[1] Jesus was *born under the Law*.[2] He was circumcised, and at the usual age He became 'a son of the Law.' It has been said that 'the New Testament gives us no means whatever of judging how the passive, unconscious relation to the Law was changed into the conscious and responsible one which we see when our Lord entered His public work.'[3] But we must remember that Prophecy, with its free and sometimes hostile attitude to the Law, was also powerful in the circles in which His boyhood was spent; and that throughout His ministry He not only appealed to the Prophets as well as the Law, and constantly quoted their very words, but used these just on the great points on which they differed from the Law: that God *will have mercy and not sacrifice*, and that the atonement for the sins of men is to be effected by an ethical agent. This, however, is to anticipate, and we now proceed with the details which led to it. The loyalty of Jesus to the ritual was on some sides unexceptionable. The only

[1] Luke i., and especially ii. 41 (see Plummer's note).

[2] Gal. iv. 4.

[3] Denney, art. 'Law (in N.T.),' Hastings' *D.B.* See the whole very illuminating article; also Mackintosh, *Christ and the Jewish Law*.

faults of ceremonial with which His vigilant enemies charged Him were His use of the Sabbath, His neglect of fasts, and his neglect of the washing of hands.[1] He sent the leper, whom He healed, to the priest to fulfil the rites required by the Law.[2] He bade His disciples offer their gifts at the Altar after they were reconciled to their brethren.[3] In defence of His conduct He appealed to the authority of the Temple and the example of the Priests.[4] The sanctity of the Temple, He said, was greater than that of its gold, the sanctity of the Altar than that of the gifts laid upon it.[5] He paid the half-shekel which was the Temple-tax.[6] He attended the statutory Temple feasts. And if all these are only instances of accommodation to the customs of His people, we have besides His anger at the desecration of the Temple which moved Him to the one violent action imputed to Him.[7] But in general the whole system had for Him a Divine authority. God spake through Moses. The way of life was in keeping the commandments. He Himself had come to fulfil the Law.[8] Yet, on the other hand, the inaugural sacrament of His ministry was, as in the case of Jeremiah,[9] altogether outside the Temple service; and it is striking that there is no record of His participation in any of the central rites of the Sanctuary. We do not read of Him as going

[1] In the fragment of an Apocryphal Gospel discovered by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, a chief priest blames Jesus for neglect of the Temple lustrations. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part v. 1 ff.

[2] Mark i. 44; Matt. viii. 4: which incident recalls the orthodox feeling against physicians, who did not observe religious forms prescribed by the Law. Above, p. 404.

[3] Matt. v. 23 f. [4] Matt. xii. 1 ff. [5] Matt. xxiii. 16 ff.

[6] Matt. xvii. 14; see above, vol. i. [7] Mark xi. 15, etc.

[8] Matt. v. 17 (18); xix. 17; Mark vii. 19. [9] Above, p. 224.

further into the Temple than the Treasury, in the Court of Women.[1] All the Gospels agree on this. *Over against the Treasury, in Solomon's Porch*,[2] or generally *walking in the Temple, teaching in the Temple*,[3] are phrases that imply no more than the same outer Court in which He overturned the tables of the money-changers. These comprise all His recorded visits to the Temple. It is also remarkable that while His parables reflect every other aspect of the national life, they do not reflect the worship of the Inner Sanctuary nor the ministration of the Priests. His story of the Pharisee and the Publican is the only one that has the Temple for its scene. Jesus visited the Temple as a Prophet. He *sat in the Temple teaching*.[4] As to Jeremiah, so to Him it was the auditorium of the nation, an opportunity of getting at the hearts of men.[5] And, therefore, it will not be surprising nor seem the afterthought of a later generation, that the great freedom, which the Prophets had shown towards the ritual and even towards the sacred fabric itself, is also imputed to this new Prophet: for instance, in His saying about the Temple-tax, *the children are free, notwithstanding lest we should offend them, go thou . . . and give unto them for thee and me*; or *I desire mercy and not sacrifice*;[6] or His condemnations of the additional laws and ceremonies imposed by the Scribes. To be able to doubt that such sayings were His, is to forget the precedents for them in Prophecy before the Exile: the hostility of some prophets to the whole ritual, and the charge which one at least made

[1] Above, p. 510.

[2] Mark xii. 41; cf. Luke xxi. 1 f.; John viii. 20; x. 23.

[3] Mark xi. 27 (Matt. xxi. 12); xii. 35: ἱερόν is the word used; see above, p. 500. Cf. Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 246.

[4] Matt. xxvi. 55. [5] Above, p. 237 f. [6] Matt. xvii. 26 f.

against the Scribes of his time of falsifying the Torah.[1] Doubts have been expressed of His prediction that the Temple would be destroyed.[2] In spite of its occurrence in all the Synoptics and the echo of it in John, in spite of the fact that it formed the charge against Him before the Sanhedrin, it has been declared conceivable only as 'a prophecy after the event,' a prediction invented for Him when the Temple had perished and His followers had transferred its virtue to Himself. No one can say so who remembers Jeremiah's attitude to the Temple and his predictions of its ruin.[3] To take the lowest ground, Jesus was prophesying only what others in Jerusalem had already declared. And in connection with this we must keep in mind His words about the necessity of new bottles for new wine.[4] In the association in which these appear they can only mean the insufficiency of the forms of the Old Covenant for the new truths and tempers which were on the point of being realised, or which in a sense were already realised, in Himself and in those who believed on Him. His statement: *Think not that I am come to destroy the Law and the Prophets, I come not to destroy but to fulfil,*[5] must be interpreted upon the antithesis which we have seen between Law and Prophecy and in the light of His other saying that *the whole of the Law and the Prophets* is to love God and one's neighbour.

All this, then, is the spiritual liberty of the greater

[1] Jer. viii. 8 f.; but cf. Isa. xxix. 13.

[2] Mark xiii. 1 ff.; Matt. xxiv. 1 f.; Luke xxi. 5 f.; cf. John ii. 19. There is also the reference in Matt. xxiii. 38 f. (Luke xiii. 35), *your House is left unto you desolate*; cf. Jer. xxii. 5, *this House shall become a desolation.*

[3] Jer. vii., xxvi.

[4] Matt. ix. 14 ff.; Mark ii. 18 ff.; Luke v. 33 ff.

[5] Matt. v. 17.

prophets. Only by the new Prophet the liberty is exercised (to speak moderately), with a larger patience and the sense of a loftier authority than by any of His predecessors or than by any of His apostles after Him. Jesus shows Himself Lord of both aspects of the religion, rather than as the mere reformer of the one, the mere champion of the other. There is a sovereign quality about His attitude to both the legal and the spiritual sides of the worship which is wanting in theirs. He vindicates His use of the liberty as His own right; nor does he feel fettered or burdened by the Law when He submits Himself to its discipline, whether He does so out of regard for others or because it is the Law of God. The Law is no 'painful problem' to Jesus as to His apostles.[1] Law or Liberty, He uses both as master of both. We can see how very hard it must have been for His disciples to understand this dominant, characteristic quality of His conduct; yet they lived to understand it.[2]

His Sovereign use of Law and Liberty.

With this attitude of Jesus to the Law, we must take His sense of His difference from the Prophets before Him:[3] they were servants, He was the Son. We must take His proclamation of the close of the dispensation, which the Law and the Prophets *until John* had mediated, and the opening with Himself of a new age in which they were replaced by something else.[4] We must take the facts that His disciples came to believe in Him as the Messiah—not merely the greatest

His Sense of the Virtue and Significance of His Person.

[1] Wellhausen calls this 'das Eigentümliche' in Christ's relation to the Law; *Einleitung*, 137.

[2] Especially Galatians ii., iii. 19, v. 6.

[3] Mark xii. 1 ff., etc.

[4] Luke xvi. 16; Matt. xi. 12 f. Cf. Denney as above, Hastings' *D.B.* ii. 74*b*.

of Prophets, but the Person to whom Prophecy pointed as the agent of Israel's redemption—and that in some sense He accepted their homage and confessed Himself King of the Jews, for otherwise the Roman procurator would never have decided against Him. He was not Elijah, but John was Elijah. Himself He identified with the Son of Man in the Messianic and transcendental sense of that title given to it in 'the Similitudes' of the Book of Enoch. Towards Prophetic and Apocalyptic ideals of the Messiah He maintained the same sovereign attitude as we have seen Him hold towards the Law and its institutions. He exercised a liberty of selection. He discarded the political rôles assigned to the Christ, but He assumed the ethical authority and the transcendental powers. He set His own word against the Law, and He declared Himself the future and ultimate Judge of men. Finally, there was His announcement that by His submission to death, He became to the New Covenant what sacrifice had been to the Old, or, in other words attributed to Him, He *gave His life a ransom for many.* The exact meaning of these sayings has been variously interpreted. But to understand Him it is sufficient to remember that the redemptive value of the sufferings of the righteous, an atonement made for sin not through material sacrifice but in the obedience and spiritual agony of an ethical agent, was an idea familiar to Prophecy. It is enough to be sure, as we can be sure, that He whose grasp of the truths of the Old Testament excelled that of every one of His predecessors, did not apply this particular truth to Himself in a vaguer way, nor understand by it less, than they did. His people's pardon, His people's purity—foretold as the work of a

righteous life, a perfect service of God, a willing self-sacrifice—He now accepted as His own work, and for it He offered His life and submitted unto death. The ideas, as we have seen, were not new; the new thing was that He felt they were to be fulfilled in *His* Person and through *His* passion. But all this implies two equally extraordinary and amazing facts: that He who had a more profound sense than any other of the spiritual issues in the history of Israel, was conscious that all these issues were culminating to their crisis in Himself; and that He who had the keenest moral judgment ever known on earth, was sure of His own virtue for such a crisis—was sure of that perfection of His previous service without which His self-sacrifice would be in vain. Nor was the agony of the sacrifice abated by His trust in the promise of a glory that should follow. No man questions the story of His mental sufferings or of their crisis in Gethsemane. Yet these were not due to any doubt of His own purity. The records which so faithfully describe His temptations may be equally trusted when throughout they imply His innocence. It is a very singular confidence. Men there have been who felt themselves able to say, '*I know*,' and who died like Him for their convictions. But He was able to say '*I am*. I am that to which Prophecy has pointed,' and was able to feel Himself worthy to be that. Thus Jesus fulfilled the second of the great ethical emphases of Prophecy: He was the Messiah, the Servant of the Lord, through whose self-sacrifice the redemption of men was assured.

But in Jesus there was also fulfilled the third of the Prophetic demands for personal action and sacrifice as the fulfilment of religion. That the love of God was

not merely transcendent and complacent, but travailing and passionate, sharing the moral struggle, the weakness, the pain, even the shame and curse of the souls of men, is illustrated in Jesus as it is nowhere else. And this not merely in such a parable as that of the Prodigal and all He has told us of the love of the Father, but in Himself and His wonderful expressions of His sufficiency for the needs of the people: such as His *Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* None of these is more wonderful than His appeal to Jerusalem, with its *How often would I have gathered you*, and its conclusion that since she has rejected Him she has rejected all.

The travail of the Love of God in Jesus.

In all this, however, He went beyond every precedent in the history and prophecy which we have followed; and we must seek another scale than that either of the prophet or even of the personality to whom prophecy pointed, by which to measure Him. Just because of this His disciples failed as yet to understand Him, and we must look to the last years of our City's history for the development of, and the full reasons for, their recognition of what He was and what He did.

Conclusion of foregoing Data.

Two things are certain about the earliest community of His disciples, the Church in Jerusalem: first, their belief in the Messiahship of Jesus, confirmed to them by the evidence of His Resurrection; and second, their continued adhesion to their Jewish nationality and to the services of the Temple. A third is equally clear—it was the power of His personality upon them which alone enabled them to break

The Church in Jerusalem and the Temple.

from Judaism and its ritual. In the earlier chapters of Acts we find the same communal conception of religion prevailing as in the first chapters of Luke's Gospel.[1] The apostles address themselves to Israel, the Nation, in forms similar to those which the Prophets used. The whole Christian community is observant of the Law and shares in the national worship of the Temple. 'Perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that the early Christians were Jews first and Christians afterwards in more than the sequence of their own experience. They did not indeed value their Christianity less than their Jewish nationality, but they had not yet learned even in thought to separate them.'[2] Even while acknowledging that God had *visited the Gentiles to take out of them a people for His Name*, James, the head of the Church in Jerusalem, quoted the prophecy, *I will build again the tabernacle of David which is fallen, I will build again the ruins thereof and set it up*.[3] The student of the Old Testament will readily understand this attitude of the Christians of Jerusalem to the Temple and their Jewish nationality. There is a precedent for it in the prophecies of the Evangelist of the Exile.[4] In these, too, a great Redemption is in process, but not yet completed. Israel has to be restored and the Gentiles converted. The Servant by whom the results are to be achieved is an Israel within Israel, the spiritual nucleus of the nation, the rest of which is still blind and unredeemed. Precisely such a Remnant might the early Christians in Jerusalem feel themselves to be: distinct from other Jews by their redemption and

[1] See above, pp. 523 f.
[2] W. R. Sorley, *Jewish Christians and Judaism*, 33.
[3] Acts xv. 14 ff.
[4] 'Isaiah' xl.-lv.

enlightenment through Christ, yet in Israel and of Israel still, with a duty to the national institutions; while, at the same time, they sought to lift the whole people to their own spiritual level and were not forgetful of their mission to the Gentiles.

Stephen, Paul and Hebrews.

We need not dwell on the troubles which ultimately rose out of this loyalty to the National Covenant: the controversies about Law, Temple and circumcision, that threatened to rend the Church in twain. But it is necessary to remark the following. The movement which finally divorced Christianity from Israel may have begun in Jerusalem in disputes between Hebrews and Hellenists,[1] and he who started the controversy was in all probability a Hellenist. Yet it is fallacious to suppose that the Grecian Jews as a body were less loyal than the Jews of Jerusalem to the national institutions. Stephen's most bitter opponents were of the Hellenist synagogues.[2] His own line of argument, as recorded by Luke, has nothing to do with racial questions, but lies within the method of the Hebrew prophets when dealing with their own people. We are accustomed to call the Baptist the last of the Hebrew prophets, but Stephen was the last; speaking as Jeremiah himself would have spoken,[3] with the same appeal to precedents in the history of Israel, the same emphasis on the incurable sinfulness of the nation, the same indifference to the sanctity of the Temple, the same fearlessness of death. But the power upon Stephen is throughout the power of Jesus. Stephen is the prophet of the new Messiah, who to him is everything that the Temple and what it stands for is to his opponents. We

[1] Acts vi. [2] Acts vi. 9; and so with Paul, ix. 29. [3] Jer. xxvi.

see the same, but more articulately, in Paul and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In neither of these Jews has the change been wrought by a gradual solution of the national idea and system in the influences of the larger Greek world, nor by the prospect, nor by the fact, of the fall of the Temple. What alone tells with both is the significance of the Personality of Christ. To both He has taken the place of the Temple, the Sacrifices, the Priesthood, just because of what He has proved Himself to be in His people's experience—an atonement for sin, a living way to God, the seeking and suffering Love of God, the Risen Saviour and Intercessor. It is also striking to find how His Person has become the substitute of the national idea, which had been organic in the religion of Israel. The communal conception of religion still prevails, but Christ is the new secret of the unity and the common life. Though the Epistle to the Hebrews is based on the assumption that the old Dispensation has passed, it presents the New Covenant as one not with individuals, but with *a people*,[1] through their great High Priest, Jesus Christ. Though Paul accounts for the rejection of Israel by the words, *I will provoke you to jealousy with that which is no nation*,[2] and affirms that all racial distinctions are abolished in Christ, in whom is neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian nor Scythian; yet he tells the Galatians that they are *Abraham's seed, the Israel of God*.[3] Here, again, the bond is clear. The new community gathered out of many nations are one people, because they are one in Christ. His rank as the Messiah, Lord and King, con-

[1] A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews*, 166.
[2] Romans x. 19.
[3] Galatians iii. 28 f.; vi. 16.

stitutes them a nation—*a holy nation, a peculiar people*, as Peter expresses it. Therefore in the reconstruction of religion, which was effected in place of the Jewish system, even before the fabric of this had fallen, the creative force was everywhere the significance of Christ's Person and Christ's work. Everything reaches back to Him and to His 'infinite longing to open the soul of man to the life in God, unhindered by the mediation of priest and ritual. Thus the fountain of catholicity is in no confluence of philosophies, no combination of external conditions, but in the unique personality of Jesus of Nazareth.'[1]

Parallel between the Influence of the Divine Character in Israel's Religion

To the Old Testament student who, like ourselves, has come upon this last stage of the history of Jerusalem through the long centuries of Israel's life and religion, which lead up to it, there is only one parallel to the influence of Jesus upon the nation, their institutions and their ideals. As we followed the gradual elevation of Israel's faith and ethics from obscure beginnings to the clear monotheism of the prophets with its sublime ideals for daily life, the elevating factor of which we were aware was throughout the character of the Deity: God's revelation of His Nature and His Will. We found this at work within the ritual, the customs and the intellectual conceptions of God which Israel had inherited as part of the great Semitic family of mankind; purifying, expanding and articulating these into the most perfect system of national religion the world has ever seen.[2] We have seen it break the bounds of this nationalism, at once

[1] Martineau, *The Seat of Authority*, 632.
[2] Above, pp. 115, 210.

displaying its sovereignty over the world, and drawing the individual man directly to the breast of God. Had the scope of our task been wider, we should have perceived this same influence of the character of God acting upon an ancient folklore and mythology, purging it of its grosser elements, and rendering it expressive of the One Creator and Preserver of the world and men; we should have followed its effects upon popular religious imaginations—such, for instance, as that of the Day of the Lord, a day of the national deity's vengeance on the heathen, or that of the physical marriage of the deity with his people or with his land—and we should have watched it transform these into the most ethical of hopes and experiences. We should have seen all this done gradually, and, as it were, naturally; with the age-long patience of the Divine methods in Nature, and yet with the urgent travail and the passion which become the Love of God in the education and redemption of men.

Very similar, in these last years of the history of Jerusalem, is the working of the influence of the Person of Jesus: gradual and slow to be understood, like all the works of God; patient and yet full of travail and agony; in the end transforming and creative. He also started from the names, the forms, the symbols, the intellectual conceptions of the religion of His time. He also selected those which He would use, and put new meanings into them: meanings which are not yet exhausted, but remain as infinite to us as to the hearts that first heard them. And just as in the former development it was the Person, the Character and the Work of God which was everywhere the active Power, so here it is the Person, the Character and the Work of Jesus. Not

and the Influence of the Person of Jesus.

His interpretation of God was the new thing which appeared with Jesus, but the new thing was Himself. Not the ideas of the mission which He assumed, for these had all been defined by Prophecy, but the Fact that He felt Himself able for the mission and the Fact that He fulfilled it. The authority which He claimed, the sufficiency for men of which He was conscious—these are His own testimonies to what He was. And the experience of His followers from the time of the Resurrection onward is that He was no less than Lord and God, the fulness of the Divine Grace and Truth.

As a Fact in history all this is not less credible than its anticipation by the prophets ages before. The Love of God could not be satisfied nor perfected in sending to men the knowledge of itself through Prophets and Priests or by the discipline of their own sufferings; but must itself share, by their side, their weakness, their sorrow, their ethical warfare and passion.

CHAPTER XX

JERUSALEM OF THE GOSPELS

THE Jerusalem of the Gospels was the Jerusalem of Herod, a great engineer and builder of strongholds.[1] Seated on her two hills and girt by massive walls, ingeniously constructed with curves and re-entrant angles, the City to which Christ came presented the appearance of a gigantic fortress; impregnable on three sides, for here the walls rose from the precipitous flanks of her hills, but on the north they struck across the backs of these and were further fortified by a deep-cut fosse, beyond which lay a suburb of uncertain extent. Round this the Third or outmost wall, probably on the line of the present north wall, had not yet been built. At intervals upon the others towers rose from solid bases, so closely constructed as to seem single masses of stone; while in front of the gates and other assailable points the rock bristled with counterscarps and similar outworks.[2] Nor did all these exhaust the embattled aspect of the City. Her outer walls embraced a number of separate and independent strongholds. On the East Hill the ramparts of the Temple towered over the Lower City, falling from their feet to Siloam; and, as the Temple was to the City, so was Antonia to the Temple, a still more eminent citadel.[3]

Warlike aspect of the City.

[1] Above, pp. 481 ff.

[2] Vol. i. 181 f., 187 ff., 191 f., 244 ff.

[3] Vol. i. 426; vol. ii. 495 ff.

Beyond the Tyropœon rose the longer and loftier West Hill, its streets and terraces disposed theatre-wise,[1] but with the old First Wall running down the middle of it and so over the Tyropœon to the Temple ramparts.[2] The Hasmonean House, with the Xystus below, stood upon this wall towards its lower end;[3] in its topmost north-west angle Herod's castellated Palace and three Towers crowned, or rather helmeted, the war-girt figure of Israel's metropolis. But for the broad Sanctuary in her lap, with its snow-white shrine and smoking altar, Jerusalem must have seemed more devoted to war than to religion, more suggestive of siege than of pilgrimage. It is singular to think of the cradle of Christianity in so formidable a fortress.

We have also realised the politics of the City and the tempers of her population. There was, first, the Roman garrison, quartered in the two highest citadels: the Antonia, which communicated by a double passage with the outer Court of the Temple, and Herod's Palace, now the Prætorium or seat of the Roman Procurator when he came up from Cæsarea to the Jewish feasts.[4] There was the Sanhedrin, seated in the Temple, with religious and civil jurisdiction over Judæa (but in capital cases subject to the Procurator) and with considerable influence in Galilee and elsewhere.[5] There were the Sadducees and Chief Priests, an ecclesiastical but unspiritual aristocracy, arrogant and unscrupulous, without popular ideals or influence, but ready to employ popular passions, 'able to persuade none save

Politics and Tempers of the Population.

[1] Vol. ii. 440 ff. [2] Vol. i. 242 f. [3] Vol. ii. 459, 461 f.
[4] Vol. i. 413 ff. (cf. 28); vol. ii. 488 ff. See below, pp. 573 ff.
[5] Vol. i. 415 ff.; vol. ii. 470.

the rich,' but with gangs of bravos in their pay.[1] There were the Pharisees and Scribes, influential with the multitude and zealous in education; patriotic and religious in their ideals, but in their methods professional and pedantic, who with one hand kindled the soul of the nation and with the other smothered the soul they kindled by their cumbrous and often desperate legalism.[2] There was the army of Priests, Levites and Temple servants with a warlike as well as a spiritual discipline, a financial as well as a religious training, under captains as well as chief priests, like one of the great military orders of Christianity; accustomed to sentinel the walls of their sanctuary, but ready when these were taken to die round its altar rather than remit their sacred rites.[3] There were a considerable number of wealthy families,[4] a considerable volume of commerce and industry;[5] but, on the other hand, swarms of idlers and mendicants, much poverty, and because of the comparative sterility of the surroundings, a general precariousness of subsistence, which under drought or invasion, especially if the latter coincided with a Sabbatic year, rapidly became famine.[6] Of clean and ardent souls we descry not a few; there must have been many more, keeping themselves from the world and nursing the most spiritual of the national promises; and a still larger number of simple men, ignorant, brave, devoted, the innocent prey of leaders with less lofty ambitions for Israel. We have seen the character of the City's 'multitude': intensely jealous for

[1] Vol. i. 423. See below, p. 572.
[2] Vol. i. 416, 447, 452.
[3] Vol. i. 351 ff., 423 ff.
[4] Vol. i. 368.
[5] Vol. i. 374 ff.
[6] Vol. i. 298 ff.; vol. ii. 456; cf. below, p. 563.

the Law and the purity of public worship, but even more bent on their political freedom ; accustomed to be consulted by their rulers, expert in discussion, conscious of their power, and easily stirred to revolt.[1] To them were added at the feasts 'an innumerable throng from the country,' so that at such seasons Jerusalem was less a City than a nation concentrated like a city to one man's voice and influence.[2] And finally, we have appreciated the double exposure of all this life: on the one side, its recent openness, through the Hellenised cities of Palestine and the new port of Cæsarea, to the Greek and Roman world ;[3] on the other, its ancient neighbourhood to the Desert, so hospitable to its forces of fanaticism and revolt.[4]

In the Gospels, the story of a Galilean Prophet and His disciples, Jerusalem appears mainly as a Place of Pilgrimage, and, with but few exceptions,[5] only on the occasion of the great Festivals.[6] She is *the Holy City*.[7] So long as Jesus is the master of His movements, we hear of little but the Sanctuary, and only of its outer courts.[8] He does not go elsewhere within the walls except to Bethesda and to the house selected for His last Passover ;[9] He does not

Jerusalem of the Gospels. 1. A place of Pilgrimage.

[1] Vol. i. 442 f., 445, 449 ff., 454. [2] Vol. i. 455.
[3] Vol. i. 453 f. ; vol. ii. 478 ff.
[4] Vol. i. 11 ff., 400, 451, 454 ; vol. ii. 454, 457, 483.
[5] Luke i.-ii. 40 ; Matt. ii. 1 ff. (the dates of which are uncertain) ; cf. iv. 5, the Second Temptation.
[6] Luke ii. 41 ; John ii. 13, 23 (the Passover) ; v. 1 (the Feast) ; vii. 2, 10 (Tabernacles); x. 22 (F. of the Dedication, see above, 454 f.); and the accounts of our Lord's last Passover in all the Gospels ; cf. Acts ii. (Pentecost).
[7] Matt. iv. 5 ; xxvii. 53 ; see vol. i. 270. [8] Cf. above, pp. 543 f.
[9] John v. 2 ff. ; Mark xiv. 12 ff., etc. We are not told where Nicodemus came to Him.

speak of any other place except Siloam.[1] The Temple bulks before everything else, the wonder of all visitors to the City; its dizzy pinnacles the scene of His own Temptation[2]—a remarkable proof of the impression which the lofty House had left on His boyhood. Beside the Temple neither the walls nor Herod's Castle nor his Towers are noticed, but they are implied in that utterance of our Lord, on His approach round Olivet, when the whole military appearance of the place burst upon Him and He foretold its siege and overthrow.[3] Perhaps there are also allusions to the characteristic housetops of the town,[4] and to its market-places and numerous synagogues,[5] but these features were equally conspicuous in other towns.

2. Our Lord's Resorts in the Environs.

The rest of the time in which He was master of His movements, Jesus spent with His disciples outside the walls, and (it is interesting to observe) only in that part of the environs which lay opposite the Temple. From Jericho they came up past Bethany and Bethphage. The full strength, the full pity, of the City burst upon Him as He crossed either the shoulder or the summit of the Mount of Olives.[6] The last nights they passed in Bethany and out on the Mount itself. This bivouac was His custom: *they went every man to his own house, but Jesus went to the Mount of Olives*; *He came out and went, as His custom was, to the Mount*

[1] John ix. 7, 11.
[2] Mark xi. 11; xiii. 1 ff; cf. Luke xxi. 5 ff.
[3] Luke xix. 43 ff.
[4] Mark xiii. 15, etc.
[5] Matt. xx. 3; xxiii. 7; John xviii. 20; cf. Acts vi. 9.
[6] Luke xix. 41 ff. What line the road from Jericho took in those days is uncertain. There is trace of an ancient road over the top of Olivet (above, pp. 44 f.); but the mention of Bethany and Bethphage suggests that, as now, the road came round the Mount. See the fine description in Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 190 ff.

of Olives.[1] There He taught as He taught in the Temple.[2] His parables and illustrations in Jerusalem include marriage feasts and trading with pounds or talents, also the Temple figures of the Pharisee and the Publican, and of the Widow putting her mite into the Treasury; but otherwise they are of vines and figs, vineyards and sheepfolds, the fountain of living water, and the white tombs conspicuous round the City —all of them visible from His haunts on the Mount. There *He sat over against the Temple.*[3] And thither He crossed the Kidron to His agony in Gethsemane.

3. How the West Hill comes into the Story.

In the religious expectation of the time, Jerusalem bore further aspect than as the place of pilgrimage or of a prophet's teaching. The Apocalypses predicted that the City should be the glorious centre of the new dispensation.[4] There the Kingdom was to come and the Messiah appear to reign: most probably at one of the great feasts when the Nation would be gathered to meet Him. The popular revolts, at the call of some 'prophet' or other,[5] doubtless happened during such seasons, when the excitable populace was reinforced by the simple and credulous peasantry. That such ideas held the imagination of some of the disciples of Jesus is plain from the petition of James and John, while *they were in the way going up to Jerusalem: Grant that we may sit one on Thy right hand and one on Thy left hand in Thy glory.*[6] He knew that Jerusalem held not His throne, but the cup whereof

[1] John vii. 53, viii. 1, the section on the Woman taken in Adultery; Luke xxii. 39; cf. xxi. 37.

[2] Matt. xxiv. 3.

[3] Mark xiii. 3.

[4] Above, pp. 537 f.

[5] Vol. i. 451.

[6] Mark x. 32, 35 ff.; Matt. xx. 17 ff: see Bengel on verse 22.

He must drink. The chief priests were waiting for Him there. There sat the Sanhedrin and the Gentile governor into whose hands they would deliver Him to death.[1] When His anticipations were fulfilled, and He was arrested, He was brought beyond the Temple, and so for the first time the West Hill comes into the story. He was taken to the house of the High Priest, to the Prætorium, to the residence of Herod Antipas, back to the Prætorium, and thence through a northern gate to His crucifixion beyond the walls, where also He was buried.

4. The Neighbourhood of the Desert.

Of the neighbourhood of the Desert to Jerusalem, and the conspiracy of its wild freedom with the turbulence and fanaticism of her people,[2] there is not so much reflection in the Gospels as in Josephus, with his stories of prophets who called the multitude to 'see the signals of liberty in the wilderness,' or led them back to behold the walls fall. But Jesus alludes to the same popular hope in the Desert when in His last discourse He says : *If they should say unto you, Behold, He is in the wilderness, go not forth* ;[3] and it is significant that two of His temptations are laid in the Desert and in the Temple. In a similar connection with the City the Jordan appears, and for the first time in its history. To its banks the populace of the City follow John, and afterwards Theudas.[3]

5. The Openness to the West.

Of the opposite, and recent, exposure of Jerusalem to the western world, there is ample illustration in the drift of the story through the Book of Acts : down the hills on which the City stood, by the Gaza road, to the maritime plain, and to Ashdod,

[1] Vol. i. 451, 454. [2] Matt. xxiv. 26. [3] Vol. i. 449.

or more directly to Lydda, Joppa, and out through Cæsarea to Cyprus,[1] Asia Minor, Greece and Rome. The Gospels are already ominous of this decentralisation of the religion. They contain no such promises of the glory of Jerusalem as we find in the Apocalypses with their narrow Jewish outlook. The destruction of the City is foretold, and no restoration. The disciples are bidden to tarry at Jerusalem, only till they are endued with power from on nigh. We have seen how, for a time, they clung to the Temple and the Law, and that before the destruction of 70 they had finally broken from these and other national institutions.

6. The Poverty of the City.

One other feature has to be considered. In the course of the history it has become clear how unable the City was to support herself from her own resources, and how many non-productive members her population contained.[2] Jerusalem was naturally a poor City. This condition is reflected in all that the Book of Acts affirms about the poverty of her Christians and their need of support from abroad. The first practical measures of the Church were the voluntary surrender by the wealthy members of their estates, that no brother might be in need.[3] The earliest development of her system had to do with the *daily ministrations*.[4] When a famine threatened *the world*, it was at once felt that the brethren in Judæa would suffer most, and accordingly the council in Antioch determined that relief should be sent to them, of which Barnabas and Saul were the ministers.[5]

[1] Acts viii. 26; ix. 30, 32 ff., x., etc.
[2] Vol. i. 3, 14 f., 297 f., 327, 372; vol. ii. 222.
[3] Acts ii. 44; iv. 32, 34 ff.; cf. iii. 6.
[4] Acts vi. 1 ff.
[5] Acts xi. 27 ff.; xii. 25; cf. Galatians ii. 10.

To the student of the Gospels and the Acts it is more important to feel these general aspects of the Christian story of Jerusalem, than that he should know, or think he knows, its exact topography. And indeed no part of the topographical tradition of the City is more difficult than that which deals with the data of the Gospels. The textual uncertainties are many. The most sacred sites of all, Calvary and the Sepulchre, lie in that part of the City where the destruction by Titus was complete and continuous excavation has been least possible.

These Aspects more important than the exact Topography.

Perhaps the most difficult datum is the verse which speaks of the Pool of Bethesda.[1] The name has been handed down in three different forms: Bethesda, as in our Authorised Version, but derived from sources of inferior value; Bethzatha or Bezatha, with good manuscript evidence and accepted by leading authorities of our own time; and Bethsaida, with early and apparently independent traditions in its favour.[2] Nor is the meaning of any of these quite clear. Bethesda is usually taken as *house of mercy*, but this is not certain.[3] Bethzatha was the name of the quarter of

The Topography—1. The Pool of Bethesda.

[1] John v. 2.

[2] Βηθεσδα, textus receptus, Peshitto; cod. leid., *O.S.* Eus. and Jerome, ed. Larsow-Parthey, 112 f. Βηθζαθα, ℵ, L., Tischendorf, W. H., and Moffatt; or Βηζαθα, Eusebius in Lag. *O.S.* 251; or Βελζεθα, D. Βηθσαιδα, B., several versions, Tertullian, Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) and Jerome in Lag. *O.S.* 142; 'the combination of two authorities so wide apart as Tertullian and B., carrying it back to a remote antiquity' (Sanday, *S.S.* 57); so too the Vulgate. J. B. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 29 *n.*, prefers Βηθσαιδα with Βηθζαθα as an alternative.

[3] Aram. Beth-ḥisda, Syr. Beth-ḥesda; it is doubtful whether an original *ḥi* or *ḥe* would be represented in Greek by ε. Mediæval tradition took it as בית אשרא, 'locus' or 'domus effusionis,' from the belief that there poured into it the washings of the altar and inner court and the blood of the victims (Eus., Jer., as above; Quaresmius, *Elucid.* vol. ii. 80*b*, where the name,

the City to the north of the Temple.[1] Bethsaida, 'house of hunting,' or 'of fishing,' though well supported, is hardly appropriate to Jerusalem,[2] and may easily have arisen, through an error of the ear, for Bethzaitha, 'place of olives,' or by confusion with the Galilean place-name. The rest of the verse is also ambiguous. As it stands, it reads: *there was in Jerusalem by the Probatikē a Pool called in Hebrew B., having five porches. Probatikē* is the adjective used by the Septuagint to translate *sheep* in the name *the Sheep-Gate*;[3] and the clause is therefore translated *by the Sheep-Gate a Pool, called B.* Another reading with considerable support runs: *there was in Jerusalem a Sheep-Pool called in Hebrew B.*[4] The suggestion also has been made: *there was by the Sheep-Pool* that which was *called in Hebrew B.*[5] But it is possible that *Probatikē* is the reproduction of an Aramaic noun *Pĕrobatayah, Bath* or *Baths.*[6] In any

however, is Bethsaida; Reland, *Pal.* 856; Bochart, *Phaleg* 680). So Ewald (*Hist.* vi. 282 *n.*), Conder (Hastings' *D.B.* i. 279*b*, אשדה=stream), but thinking rather of a natural emission of water which would suit the Virgin's Spring=Giḥon 'the gusher.' Lewin (*Sketch of Jerus.* 268), בית אסרא, 'house of washing.' Brose (*St. u. Kr.*, Jan. 1902) goes back to the mediæval idea. Westcott (*St. John*) quotes Delitzsch, בית אסטין, *οἶκος στοᾶς*, 'house of the Portico.'

[1] Vol. i. 247. [2] See, however, on fish-ponds, vol. i. 317 *n.* 4.

[3] Neh. iii. 1, 32; xii. 39: *ἡ πύλη ἡ προβατική*, vol. i. 200.

[4] Cod. א. Eusebius and Jerome apply the adjective to the Pool. So Chrysostom. Vulgate, *probatica piscina.*

[5] Smith, *D.B.*(2) art. 'Bethesda' by Grove and Wilson.

[6] Cf. Buxtorf (*Lex. Chald.*, etc.), פְּרוֹבְטִיא, *balneae*, with references to

the Targum and Midrash on Eccles. ii. 8, which explain *the delights of men* in that verse as *baths.* Baths among the Jews were introduced by Greeks or Romans. The Aramaic word is variously derived: from the Greek *προβατικός*, or *περίπατος*, or the Latin *privata*, at first applied to private baths as distinguished from public ones (Levy, *Neu. Hebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, פרובטייה). Note that Eccles. ii. 8 was referred to Solomon, and that one of the proposed sites for Bethesda may be Solomon's Pool (below, p. 567). This explanation of Probatikē suggested itself to me on coming across

case we are not tied down by the text to a site in the neighbourhood of the Sheep-Gate. At least six sites have been proposed: the Ḥammam esh-Shefâ,[1] the Twin-Pools adjoining the north-west corner of Antonia, the Birket Israin, the Twin-Pools at St. Anne's,[2] the Virgin's Well or Gihon, and Siloam. Tradition supports in succession the second, third and fourth of these. The Twin-Pools by Antonia are probably those identified with Bethesda by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, Eucherius, Eusebius and Jerome; the Birket Israin has been connected with our passage since the thirteenth century; and the Pools of St. Anne's at least since the Crusades. If the *troubling of the waters* was due to the emptying of the lavers and conduits of the Temple, that would be possible in the Twin-Pools near Antonia and in the Birket Israin, assuming that these existed before 70 A.D., which is uncertain. If *the troubling* was due to a natural syphonic spring, this, if it ever existed north of the Temple, has been destroyed or masked by the earthquakes. All three sites suit the well-supported reading Bethzatha, and lie in the neighbourhood of the old Sheep-Gate. But, as we have seen, neither of these reasons is decisive. If *Probatikē*

Ṗerobatayah in Buxtorf and Levy; but I have since found that it was suggested by Sepp, *Jerusalem* (1863), i. 331, and by Bishop Lightfoot in his Lecture-notes, published posthumously in *Biblical Essays* (1893), p. 170. There must, therefore, be something in it.

[1] By Sepp, *Jerusalem*, i. 329, 331, and by Furrer; see vol. i. 84 *n.* 4.

[2] On these three see vol. i. 116 f.: and add to the references there Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Res.* i. 118 f.: 'The Sanctuary of the *House of St. Anne*, built on the actual site of Bethesda, has for its origin a play upon the words *Bethesda* and *Bêit Hanna*, both of which mean "House of Grace." We have a decisive material proof of this, the marble foot discovered at St. Anne's itself, and bearing . . . an *ex voto* in Greek, of Pompeia Lucilia in gratitude for his cure at the Sheep-Pool.' But this proves only that in Greek times the pool was identified with Bethesda. See also Mommert, *Topogr. d. alt. Jerus.* iii. 97; Sanday, *S.S.* 55 ff.; Rix, *Tent and Testament*, 205-208.

may be taken absolutely as a proper name, whether meaning *Bath* or something else, and the reading Bethesda, or even Bethsaida, be possible, then one of the two sites south of the Temple is open to us; and on each of these we have a pool periodically disturbed by a natural spring which would suit the reading Bethesda and its equation, 'house of emission.' The ancient name of the Virgin's Spring was Gihon, 'the Gusher'; there lies a Pool—in ancient times there may have been a larger one—which still has the reputation of healing diseases.[1] The water of the Pool of Siloam was also disturbed at intervals by the intermittent rush from Gihon; the Pool was possibly rebuilt in Herod's time.[2] But, on the other hand, Siloam is separately mentioned in the Fourth Gospel: to the writer it can hardly have been the same as Bethesda.[3] The balance of evidence, therefore, is in favour of the Virgin's Spring, but the whole is uncertain.

2. The Upper Room—the Cœnaculum.

Three questions arise concerning the Upper Room in which our Lord kept the Passover with His disciples. *First:* Is it the same as that in which the disciples gathered after His ascension? *Second:* Did it remain the usual meeting-place of the Church till the destruction of Jerusalem? *Third:* Did either the Supper Room or the Church, or both, occupy the site with which a very old tradition has identified them—the present Cœnaculum in the complex of buildings

[1] Vol. i. 87 ff.; on the supposed pool here, 91, 198 *n.* 2. It may have been 'Solomon's Pool' of Josephus (v. *B.J.* iv., *the King's Pool*, Neh. iii. 15). The late Yusuf Pasha informed me that in his boyhood he was sent to bathe in this pool when he was ill. On this identification see Lightfoot, *Opera* ii. 588; Robinson, *B.R.* i. 508; Conder, 'Bethesda' in Hastings' *D.B.*

[2] Bliss, *Excav. at Jerus. 1894-1897*, 330.

[3] Rix, *Tent and Test.* 255, argues for Siloam, but does not give enough weight to the above reason against it.

known as Neby Daûd, on the South-West Hill (the 'traditional Sion') and connected with, among other 'places,' that of the death or *Dormitio* of the Virgin? These questions have recently been answered in the affirmative by writers of different schools.[1] Dr. Sanday, for example, does 'not think there is any reason to doubt that where the "upper room" is mentioned in the Gospels and Acts it is the same upper room that is meant.' Nor does he think it 'a very precarious step to identify this upper room as in the house of Mary the mother of Mark. . . . It seems to me' (he continues) 'that the combinations are quite legitimate, and only give unity and compactness to the history, if we suppose that the house of Mary and her son was the one central meeting-place of the Church of Jerusalem throughout the Apostolic age. Our latest evidence for it is on the occasion of the release of St. Peter in 44 A.D. But there is no reason to think that there would be any change between that date and the flight of the threatened community to Pella in the year 66.' The present writer would willingly agree with these opinions, both for their own attractiveness and from his respect for the authority of those who hold them. But while the facts alleged are within the bounds of possibility, they are not very probable. One need not, indeed, be hindered by the objection that Luke uses one word for *upper chamber* in the Gospel and another in Acts.[2] But Luke

[1] C. Mommert, *Die Dormitio u. das Deutsche Grundstück auf dem traditionellen Zion*, 1899; Th. Zahn, 'Die Dormitio Sanctae Virginis u. das Haus des Johannes Markus,' in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, x. (1899), 377 ff. (not seen); also *Einl.*(2) ii. 212 f.; W. Sanday, *S.S.* 77 ff.; J. Weiss, *D. älteste Evang.* 409. Mommert distinguishes between the Dormitio and the Cœnaculum.

[2] Luke xxii. 11 f., ἀνάγαιον μέγα, *a great upper chamber* (cf. Mark xiv. 14 f., which has also τὸ κατάλυμά μου, *my guest-chamber*); Acts ii. 13, τὸ ὑπερῷον, *the upper chamber where they were abiding*.

would surely have noticed the identity; in the Gospel he implies that the first upper chamber was only for the purpose of the Passover. It is still more precarious to argue both that this was in the house of Mark's mother, and that it remained the meeting-place of the Church till 66 A.D. Considering the rapid growth of the community and other circumstances of their life, it is more probable that their meeting-place changed from time to time. Then Dr. Sanday finds that the New Testament data are met by evidence 'from the time of Hadrian.' But this is the testimony of Epiphanius, who lived in the fourth century (312-403).[1] He reports that forty-seven years after the ruin by Titus, Hadrian, on his arrival at Jerusalem, found 'the whole city levelled . . . save a few dwellings and the little Church of God, whither the disciples returned when the Saviour was taken up from Olivet, and they went up to the upper room; for it had been built there, that is in the quarter of Sion. [The church] had been left over from the destruction, and parts of the dwellings about Sion, and the seven synagogues which alone remained standing in Sion, like huts, one of which survived till the time of the bishop Maximonas and the Emperor Constantine, like *a booth in the vineyard*, according to the Scripture.' Similar testimonies exist from the same period.[2] Dr. Sanday remarks that the historical character of the tradition need not be questioned. Surely all that can be said is that it is not impossible. The tradition has the same antiquity as that of the Holy Sepulchre. From the fourth century till now it has been constant. As in the case of the Holy Sepulchre, other scenes of the sacred history have been grouped in and round the Upper Room or Cœnaculum:

1 *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, xiv. 2 See Zahn, *Einl.*(2)|| 213.

the place of Pentecost, the house of St. John with the scene of the Dormitio, or death, of the Blessed Virgin, the house of Caiaphas, the pillar at which our Lord was scourged, the place where He appeared 'in Galilee.' There has been much rebuilding on the site: including the restoration of a basilica after the Persian destruction in 614 A.D.; a church of two stories in the time of the Crusades; and a reconstruction by the Franciscans in 1333, from which the present form of the Cœnaculum dates. In 1547 it passed into the hands of the Moslems, who still hold it.

The Synoptic Gospels agree that after the Supper our Lord and His disciples *went out to the Mount of Olives*,

3. Gethsemane.

Luke adds, *as was His custom*; *to an enclosed piece of ground named Gethsemane*, or *Oil-Press*, Luke simply says *at the place*, but John that it was *a garden across the winter-brook, Ḳidron*.[1] The traditional site, in possession of the Franciscans, received its present form so recently as 1848.[2] But a 'Grotto of the Agony' is shown some paces to the north, and is reached by a passage from the forecourt of the Church of the Virgin's Tomb: it may have been a cistern or oil-vat. The Church represents 'St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat,' one of the principal sanctuaries of Jerusalem during the Latin kingdom;[3] doubtless that which the Moslem geographers of the tenth and twelfth centuries call 'El Jismâniyah,' 'The Place of the Incarnation,' a corruption of Gethsemane.[4] From this the

[1] Mark xiv. 26, 32; Matt. xxvi. 30, 36; Luke xxii. 39 f.; John xviii. 1. Γεθσημανεῖ or -νη, *i.e.* גַּת שְׁמָנָא; another reading, γεσσ-, implies the same, and hardly גֵּיא, Oil-glen. On the Ḳidron see vol. i. 80 f.

[2] Robinson, cf. *B.R.* i. 346 and *L.B.R.* 188.

[3] Frequent references in Röhricht's *Regesta*.

[4] So Mas'ûdi and Idrisi. Le Strange, *Pal. under Moslems*, 203, 210.

tradition is pretty constant back to the fourth century, where the data of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, 333 A.D., and Eusebius, are not against the present site, and the position is defined by Jerome as at the roots of Olivet with a church built over it.[1] Whether all this rests on earlier tradition we cannot tell. The Gospels assure us of a site on Olivet opposite the Temple, for this was our Lord's usual resort. It is not necessary to suppose that the garden lay much higher up the hill. But wherever it was —and the slopes have suffered much these nineteen centuries—any of the olive-groves on the Mount which have not been dressed as the Franciscan garden has, will give the pilgrim a more natural impression of the scene of our Lord's agony than the latter can.

After the arrest on Olivet, Jesus was led to the *house of the High Priest*,[2] which might also be described as his *Aulē* or *Court*.[3] It was evidently a large building with a court in front, and before this a Proaulion or Pulon.[4] In all probability it lay with the Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces, and other notable buildings, on the South-West Hill. That is where Josephus places the residence of a later High

4. The House of the High Priest.

[1] Eusebius (in Lag. *O.S.* 257), Γεθσιμανῆ, χωρίον, ἔνθα πρὸ τοῦ πάθους ὁ Χριστὸς προσηύξατο. κεῖται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῶν ἐλαιῶν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ νῦν τὰς εὐχὰς οἱ πιστοὶ ποιεῖσθαι σπουδάζουσιν. The church upon it was therefore built between the time of Eusebius and that of Jerome.

[2] Εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως: Luke xxii. 54; locality is implied also in Mark xiv. 53 ff., Matt. xxvi. 57.

[3] John xviii. 15 ff.: εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ ἀ. Here Aulē seems to be the whole residence of the High Priest (cf. in Josephus above, p. 488), and so too, possibly, even in Mark xiv. 54, Matt. xxvi. 58. Elsewhere Aulē is the court in front of the house, in which Peter remained *outside* (Matt. xxvi. 69), or *below* (Mark xiv. 66). The questions raised by John's story (xviii. 12-24), that Jesus was led first to Annas, then to Caiaphas, do not concern us here. But notice, in illustration of John's two chief priests, Josephus iv. *B.J.* iii. 7.

[4] Mark xiv. 66, 68; Matt. xxvi. 69, 71.

Priest, Ananias.[1] To this house were gathered *the chief priests, elders and scribes*,[2] the members of the Sanhedrin. It seems also implied, though not necessarily, that a formal meeting of the Council was held: now *the chief priests and the whole Sanhedrin sought witness against Jesus that they might put Him to death*.[3] We have seen that the Sanhedrin usually sat in their chamber in the Temple, but that under stress of circumstances they might meet elsewhere.[4] If this midnight meeting in the house of Caiaphas was a formal one, the uncanonical hour may be explained by the desire to complete the punishment in the case before the Sabbath,[5] the unusual place by the fact that at that hour the Temple gates were shut.[6] We have seen how ready both Herod and the Zealots were, on the one hand, to seem to observe the forms, and on the other to violate the spirit, of the Law.[7] The Sadducees were also reputed, on other occasions than this, to have been unscrupulous and irregular in their management of the Sanhedrin.[8] No one familiar with the constitutional history of the period can doubt

[1] ii. *B. J.* xvii. 6.

[2] Mark xiv. 53; Matt. xxvi. 59.

[3] Mark xiv. 55; Matt. xxvi. 59 (false witness). It is possible to refer this either to a previous procedure of the whole Sanhedrin, or to an informal meeting at this time.

[4] Vol. i. 420.

[5] The procedure both in money-cases, דיני ממונות, and capital cases, דיני נפשות, is explained in the *Mishna*, 'Sanhedrin' iv. 1. The former could be finished in one day, in the latter the sentence could be pronounced only on the day after the trial; 'accordingly there were no courts or judgments on the evening before the Sabbath or a feast day.'

[6] Vol. i. 424.

[7] Vol. i. 433, 444 ff.

[8] Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, 41 f., with references to Josephus, xx. *Ant.* ix 1, the trial and stoning of James, in which the illegality of the procedure under the leadership of the younger Ananias and the Sadducees is indicated (the Pharisees contrasted with them in this respect, xiii. *Ant.* x. 6; ii. *B.J.* viii. 14.) For a detailed criticism, with the conclusion that no formal sentence was passed, see J. Weiss, *D. älteste Evang.* 306 ff.

the possibility of such procedure as the Evangelists describe. Another meeting of the Sanhedrin—to pass the sentence arrived at during the night, or to have further consultation—was held at sunrise, within the canonical hours, and probably in the regular chamber.[1]

From the Sanhedrin Jesus was led to Pilate, the Procurator.[2] John says that He was led straight from Caiaphas to the Prætorium,[3] into which He was taken to Pilate, while the Jews remained outside; during the rest of John's account Pilate comes and goes between Jesus in the Prætorium and the multitude in front of it; finally, he brings Jesus out to them and takes his seat on *the Bema, or judgment-seat, at a place called the Pavement, but in Hebrew Gabbatha.*[4] Matthew also speaks of Pilate sitting on the Bema in face of the multitude,[5] and Mark and Luke recount that Pilate's decision was given before the multitude.[6] Matthew and Mark then describe how the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the Prætorium.[7] The name Prætorium, originally the Prætor's (or general's) quarters in a Roman camp, was also applied to the official residence of the governor of a Province.[8] In this sense it is used in Acts: the Prætorium of Herod in Cæsarea

5. The Prætorium = Herod's Palace.

[1] Mark xv. 1; Matt. xxvii. 1; Luke xxii. 66. See J. Weiss, *op. cit.* 308 ff.
[2] Mark xv. 1; Matt. xxvii. 2 (who alone gives the title); Luke xxiii. 1. On *Governor*, see vol. i. 413. [3] John xviii. 28 ff. [4] John xix. 13.
[5] Matt. xxvii. 19; cf. 17. [6] Mark xv. 8 ff.; Luke xxiii. 4 ff., 18 ff.
[7] Matt. xxvii. 27; Mark xv. 16, *into the Court which is the Prætorium.* Brandt (*Die Evang. Gesch.* 107), quoted with approval by Canney, *Enc. Bibl.* 3823, says that *which is the Prætorium* 'is a strange addition, a gloss occasioned by the text of Matthew.' But such a criticism is strange to any one who knows the history of Herod's Palace. Josephus called it an Aulē; this was evidently the common Greek name for it, and it was now the Prætorium. Mark's expression therefore is both natural and exactly correct.
[8] Cicero, *In Verrem*, II. iv. 28; v. 35.

was the palace which Herod built there and which was used by the Procurator as his residence.[1] But the name was also given to those residences which either the governor or other officials occupied when on tour through their province.[2] The Prætorium in Jerusalem was therefore the Government House; in front of it stood the Procurator's tribunal, and it contained a detachment of soldiers.[3] The sites advocated are naturally two: the Castle Antonia, because tradition places the House of Pilate[4] near it, and in it was the larger part of the garrison,[5] while the Pavement is identified with the space between the Castle and the Temple; and Herod's Palace on the West Hill.[6] I think we can have little hesitation in deciding for the latter. It was in the Palace of Herod, says Philo,[7] that Pilate hung up the golden shields which brought him into trouble with the Jews. It was, says Josephus, 'in the Palace that Florus the Procurator took up his quarters, and having placed his tribunal in front of it, held his sessions, and the chief priests, influential persons, and notables of the city appeared before the tribunal.' Provoked by their arguments, 'he shouted to the soldiers

[1] Acts xxiii. 35. See Schürer, *Gesch.*(3) 457 f.

[2] Cf. Domaszewski in Brünnow and D. *Die Provincia Arabia*, ii. 58, on the inscription at Ḳuṣr Bsher, 'castra praetorii Mobeni,' with reference to Mommsen, *Hermes*, 1900, p. 436 *n.* 3. Vincent, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1898, p. 436, quotes from Cagnat, *L'Armée Romaine d'Afrique* (578 *n.* 7), to the effect that in a certain case Prætorium signifies 'non pas un établissement militaire, mais un gîte d'étape comme on en contruisait le long des grandes routes pour servir d'abri aux officiers et aux fonctionnaires en voyage.'

[3] *ὅλην τὴν σπεῖραν* (Mark xv. 16; Matt. xxvii. 27), not necessarily *the whole cohort*, vol. i. 426.

[4] Mommert, *Das Prätor. des Pilatus* (1903), argues for a site in the central valley, on the ground of the Un. Armenians; see especially pp. 23 ff. 69-81.

[5] Weiss, Westcott, Swete (*Mark* on xv. 16) and others.

[6] Sepp, Ewald, Keim, Meyer, Schürer, Edersheim, Kreyenbühl (*Z.N.T.W.*, 1902, 15 ff.), Sanday (*S.S.* 52 ff.), Purves in Hastings' *D.B.*, an excellent article.

[7] *Leg. ad Caium*, 31.

to plunder the Upper Market and to slay those they fell in with,' and many of the moderate citizens they brought up before Florus, whom with stripes he first scourged and then crucified.[1] Later he tried to force his way to the Antonia with such soldiers 'as were with him out of the Royal Aulē,' but they had to fall back on the camp, which was at the Palace.[2] We have seen other proofs that part of the Roman garrison of Jerusalem were stationed here.[3] There is no need, therefore, for calling in the Antonia and its guardroom; everything indicates that the Roman trial of our Lord happened in or before the Palace of Herod on the South-West Hill. But above all this is distinctly stated by Mark: *He was taken into the Aule, which is the Prætorium.*[4] That Pilate's tribunal was set on *Pavement* or *Mosaic*[5] was in accordance with Roman custom. Gabbatha may not be given as its translation, but as the Hebrew name of the place. It means either an elevated place or a bare and open one, or even possibly mosaic.[6] In front, then, of Herod's

[1] Josephus, ii. *B.J.* xiv. 8.

[2] *Id.* xv. 5; with βασιλικὴ αὐλὴ cf. αὐλὴ βασιλέως, v. *B.J.* iv. 4; and above, pp. 488, 571.

[3] Vol. i. 426.

[4] See above, p. 573 *n.* 7.

[5] Λιθόστρωτον: Ἑβραϊστὶ δὲ Γαββαθά.

[6] Cf. גַּב, גַּבָּא, emphatic state, גַּבְתָּא, *elevation, raised back, ridge*; גַּבַּחַת, *elevation*, also *bald* place on the forehead; Levy, *Neu. Hebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, s. vv. Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, i. 6) prefers the latter in its definite form, גַּבַּחְתָּא. But it is not to be overlooked that there is a root גבב in the Hebrew of the time, to bring or pack together a lot of little things (applied to an argument made out of trifles), and that גבבה means anything composed of fragments, loppings, chips (Levy). This comes very near a *mosaic*. Only there are other Aramaic terms for that. The suggestion that the name is 'a purely artificial formation, the writer himself attaching no meaning to it' (*Enc. Bibl.* 3640), is incredible. That a writer, otherwise regarded by the author of this theory as writing continually in symbols, should be supposed to have invented a meaningless name, is surely an inconsistent piece of criticism.

Palace, the site now occupied by the Turkish citadel, stood the Procurator's tribunal, where Jesus was tried by Pilate, presented to the people along with Barabbas, rejected by the multitude and scourged. In the Palace itself, or in 'the camp' which Josephus says was attached to it, He endured the mockery of the soldiers.

6. Residence of Herod Antipas = Hasmonean Palace.

Luke alone tells us that Pilate, hearing that Jesus was a Galilean and of the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas, sent Him to the latter, *who himself also was at Jerusalem in these days.* After questioning our Lord, who gave him no answer, *Herod with his soldiers set Him at nought and mocked Him, and arraying Him in gorgeous apparel sent Him back to Pilate.*[1] Ewald has suggested that upon their visits to Jerusalem the children of Herod the Great found quarters in a wing of the Prætorium, their father's Palace. It is more probable that Antipas occupied the Palace of the Hasmoneans, where indeed we find Agrippa and Bernice living.[2]

The Crucifixion.

Then *they led Him away, they led Him out, to crucify Him, and as they came out they found a man of Cyrene coming from the country, and laid on him the cross to bear it after Jesus.*[3] In the neighbourhood of the Palace was a City-gate, Gennath.[4] Probably by this the procession left the town, and came to the place Golgotha, at which they crucified Him. Where Golgotha stood, and where the neighbouring garden lay in which He was buried, we do not know, because, for reasons already explained, we cannot tell how the Second Wall, at this time the outer wall on the north, exactly ran.[5]

[1] Luke xxiii. 4 ff.
[2] ii. *B. J.* xvi. 3; see above, pp. 461 f.
[3] Matt. xxvii. 31 f.; Mark xv. 20 f.; Luke xxiii. 26.
[4] Vol. i. 243.
[5] Vol. i. 247 ff.; vol. ii. 564.

While for such topographical details we seek, and perhaps in the case of some of them seek in vain, let us not fail to lift our eyes to those general aspects of the crisis with which we began this chapter. They are certain. We see our Lord's relations to the several parts of the City and her environs: how while He was master of His movements He kept—save for His ministries at Bethesda and in the Upper Room—to the outer Courts of the Temple and to the Mount of Olives; but after His arrest He was taken to the West Hill with its Palaces, and thence by a City-Gate to His Crucifixion in the northern suburb. We feel the bare, fierce days of argument and menace within the walls, the hospitable darkness among the olives beyond. We can hear the wild call of the Desert stirring the City's blood, while she sits deaf to the pleadings of the Love of God. Our study of the authorities, the parties, and the popular forces in Jerusalem has enabled us to appreciate how various and confused were the motives of their unnatural conspiracy against this solitary Prophet; but our criticism of them is controlled by that utterance which some ancient authorities attribute to Jesus and which certainly bears the proof of His spirit: *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do!* Ignorance, whatever may have been its causes, is indeed the appalling fact that covers every other aspect of this terrible crime. It was (as we have seen) a believing, an eager and enthusiastic people, with a tumult of hopes in their breast: ready to die by their thousands for leaders whose aims were low enough to flash upon their imagination or to stir their fanatic patriotism; but equally ready to call for the death of the Prophet, whose ideals were beyond

Review of the General Aspects.

their conceiving, and who, they therefore thought, had betrayed their interests. It was a Priesthood with some noble and many brave and zealous spirits; but blinded—by professional prejudices, by panic for their influence with the people, by homage to tradition, and by the curiously close and rigorous logic of their scribes—to the spiritual realities, to the fulfilment of the highest promises of their religion, which no prophet had ever brought so near as this one now did. The Supreme Authority, with whom the final sentence lay, was foreign, perplexed, and therefore vacillating. How often in history has the fate of the earnest and the unselfish been decided by judges, at once racially and religiously as incapable as Pilate of understanding the issues before them! *Sursum corda!* After the Passion and Crucifixion of Jesus no cause of justice, no ministry of truth, no service of one's fellow-men, need despair. Though the People, Religion and the State together triumph over them, beyond the brief day of such a triumph *the days*—to use a prophetic promise which had often rung through Jerusalem—*the days are coming*. The centuries, patient ministers of God, are waiting as surely for them as they waited for Christ beyond His Cross.

Thus, then, did the City and the Man confront each other: that great Fortress, with her rival and separately entrenched forces, for the moment confederate against Him; that Single Figure, sure of His sufficiency for all their needs, and, though His flesh might shrink from it, conscious that the death which they conspired for Him was His Father's will in the redemption of mankind. As for the embattled City herself, lifted above her ravines and apparently impregnable, she sat

The End.

prepared only for the awful siege and destruction which He foresaw; while all her spiritual promises, thronging from centuries of hope and prophecy, ran out from her shining into the West: a sunset to herself, but the dawn of a new day to the world beyond.

APPENDIX

A LIST OF BLOCKADES, SIEGES, CAPTURES, AND DESTRUCTIONS SUFFERED BY JERUSALEM

Besides the capture by David, about 1000 B.C., the following are known to history :—Plunder of Temple and City by Shoshenk I. of Egypt, about 930 (1 Kings xiv. 25 f. ; 2 Chron. xii. 2 ff.) ; partial overthrow by Jehoash of Israel about 790 (2 Kings xiv. 13 ff.) ; attack by Aram and N. Israel about 734 ; siege by Sennacherib, 701 ; surrender to Nebuchadrezzar, 597 ; his siege and destruction, 587-6 ; probable sack by the Persians about 350 ; destruction by Ptolemy Soter, 320 (*καθῃρήκει* : Appian, *Syr.* 350) ; siege of Akra by Antiochus III., 198 ; capture by Jason, 170 ; destruction by Antiochus Epiphanes, 168 ; sieges of Akra and Temple, 163-2 ; siege of Akra, 146 ; siege and levelling of walls by Antiochus VII., 134 ; brief and unsuccessful siege by the Nabateans, 65 ; siege, capture and much destruction by Pompey, 63 ; sack of Temple by Crassus, 54 ; capture by the Parthians, 40 ; siege and partial destruction by Herod and Sosius, 37 ; insurrection and some ruin on the visit of Florus, 65 A.D. ; brief and unsuccessful siege by Cestus Gallus, 66 ; the great siege and destruction by Titus, 70 ; seizure by the Jews under Bar Cocheba, 131 ; capture and devastation by Hadrian, 132 ; capture and plunder by Chosroes the Persian, 614 ; re-capture by Heraclius, 628 ; occupation by Omar, 637 ; capture by Moslem rebels, 842 ; ruin of Christian buildings, 937 ; occupation by the Fatimite Dynasty, 969 ; some destruction by the Khalîf Hakîm, 1010 ; occupation by the Seljuk Turks, 1075 (?) ; siege and capture by Afdhal, 1096 ; siege, capture and massacre by Godfrey, 1099 ; occupation by Saladin, 1187 ; destruction of walls, 1219 ; capture by the Emir of Kerak, 1229 ; surrender to Frederick II., 1239 ; capture and sack by the Kharesmians, 1244 ; plunder by Arabs, 1480 ; occupation by Turks, 1547 ; bombardment by Turks, 1825 ; Egyptian occupation, 1831 ; re-occupation by Turks, 1841.

BUILDING AND REBUILDING OF CITY

Before the Exile by David, Solomon, Uzziah, Jotham, Hezekiah and Manasseh ; after the Exile, at first by the few Jews who returned from Babylon to rebuild the Temple, and then in the reconstruction of the walls and other buildings under Nehemiah ; after the Persian sack in 350 (?) ; and that by Ptolemy in 320 ; by Simon the High Priest in the third century ; by the Maccabees after 168, and then more thoroughly by Simon ; by John Hyrkanus ; by Antipater after Pompey (Jos. i. *B.J.* x. 4) ; by Herod the Great and by Agrippa ; imposition of the Legionary Camp by Titus after 70 A.D. ; building of walls, etc., by Hadrian from 136 onward ; by Constantine (churches), the Empress Eudocia (walls, churches, etc.), and Justinian (churches and convents) ; by the Moslems, especially the Khalîfs Omar and Maimûn (mosques and walls) ; by Christians (churches) under the earliest Moslem supremacy, and especially during the time of the Crusades ; after destruction of walls in 1219 ; some churches built in the fourteenth century ; building of the present walls under Suleiman the Magnificent ; much ruin of the remains of ancient walls, and building of churches, synagogues and other edifices during the nineteenth and present centuries.

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NOTE

The original maps, being of little meaning while reproduced thout colour, were excluded. The actual maps were eferred because their clarity and because being based on e latest researches.

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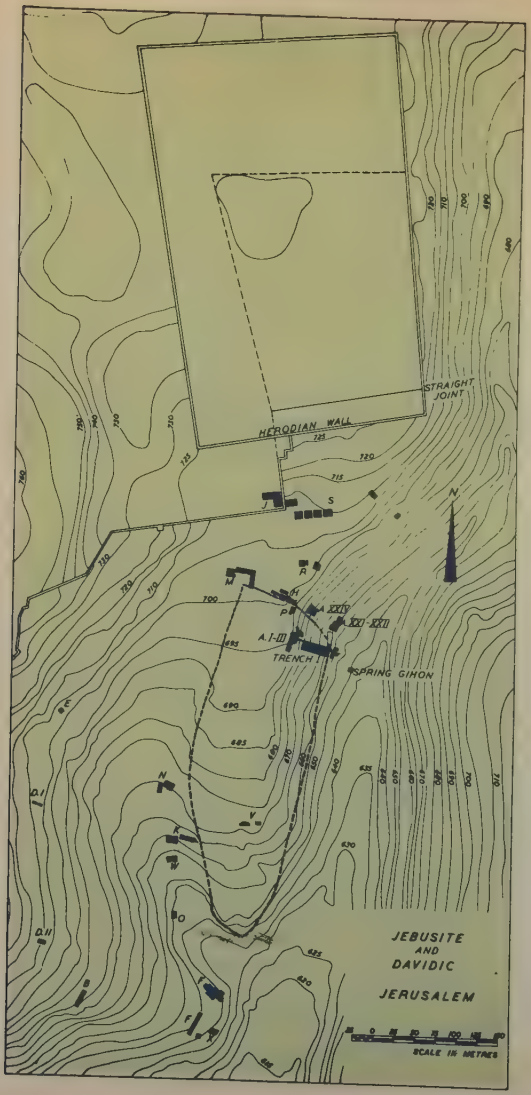
Jerusalem under David (after Kenyon).
Jerusalem under Solomon (after Kenyon).
Plan of Solomon's buildings (after Stade).
Jerusalem under the Judean Kings (after Mazar, based on Avigad's findings in the Jewish quarter).
Hezekiah water tunnel (701 B.C.).
Jerusalem under Nehemiah (after Mazar).
Jerusalem during the time of the Second Temple (after Avi-Yonah).
Temple area during the time of the Second Temple (after Vincent).

1. Jerusalem under David (after Kenyon).



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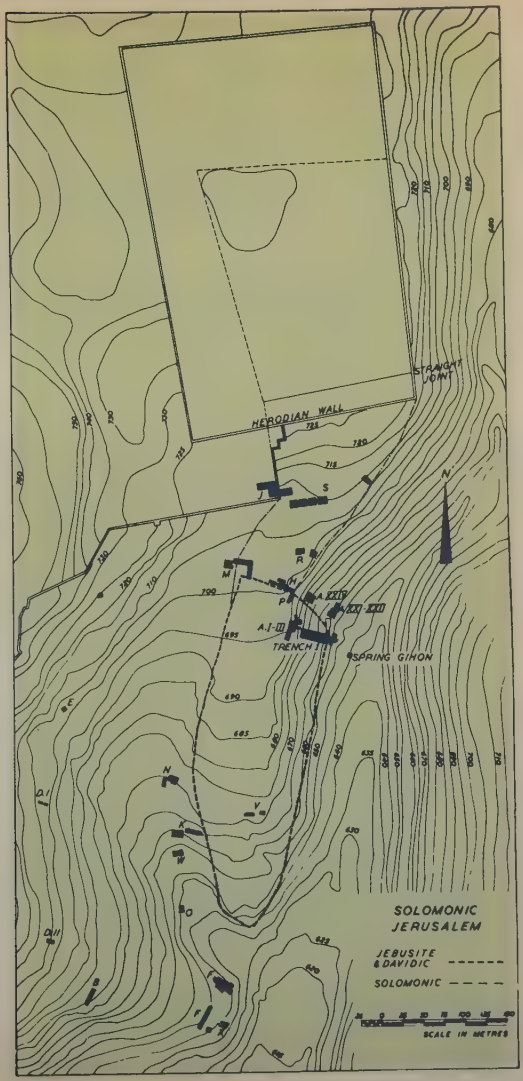

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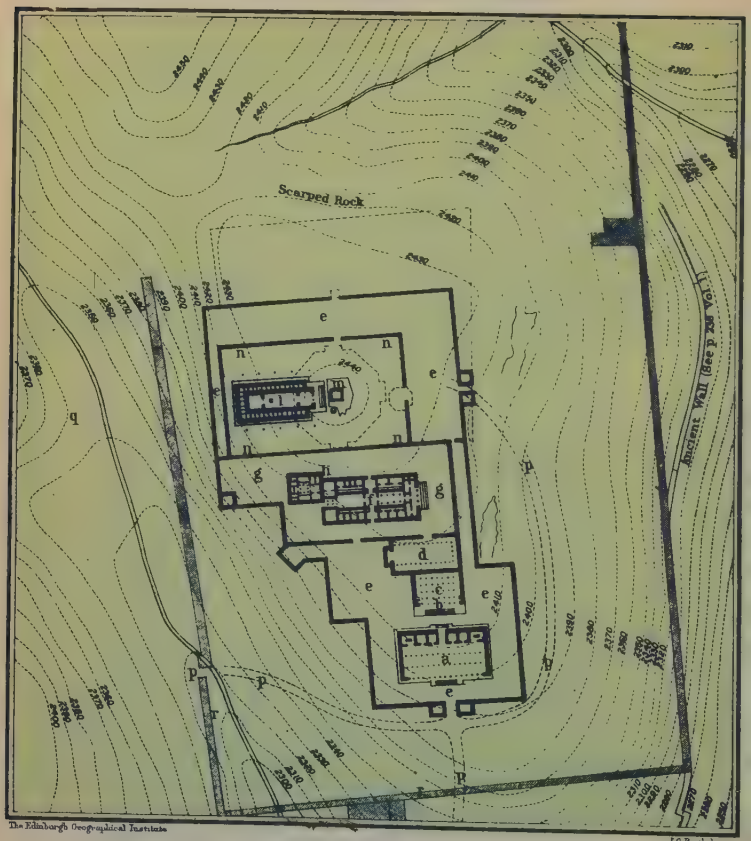
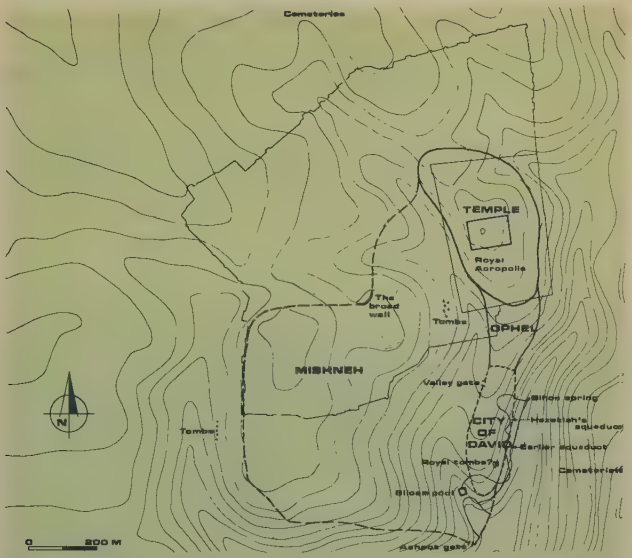


a The House of the Forest of Lebanon
b Threshold
c Hall of Pillars
d The Throne Hall
e The "Great" or Outer Court
f The King's House
g The "Other" or "Middle" Court
h House of Pharaoh's Daughter
i The Temple
m Altar of Burnt Offering
n The Upper Court or C. of the House of Yahweh
pp Ascents to Palace and Temple
q Hammam esh-Shefa
r Wall of present Haram-esh-Sherif

4. Jerusalem under the Judean Kings (after Mazar, based on Avigad's findings in the Jewish quarter).



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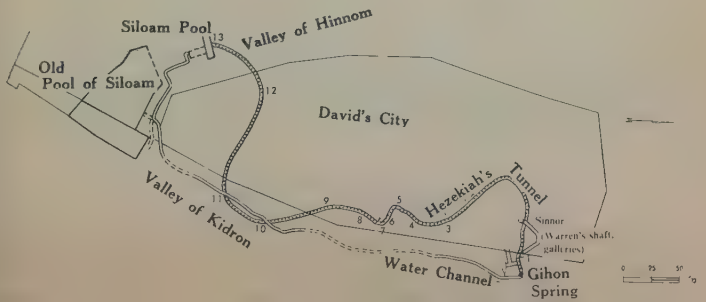

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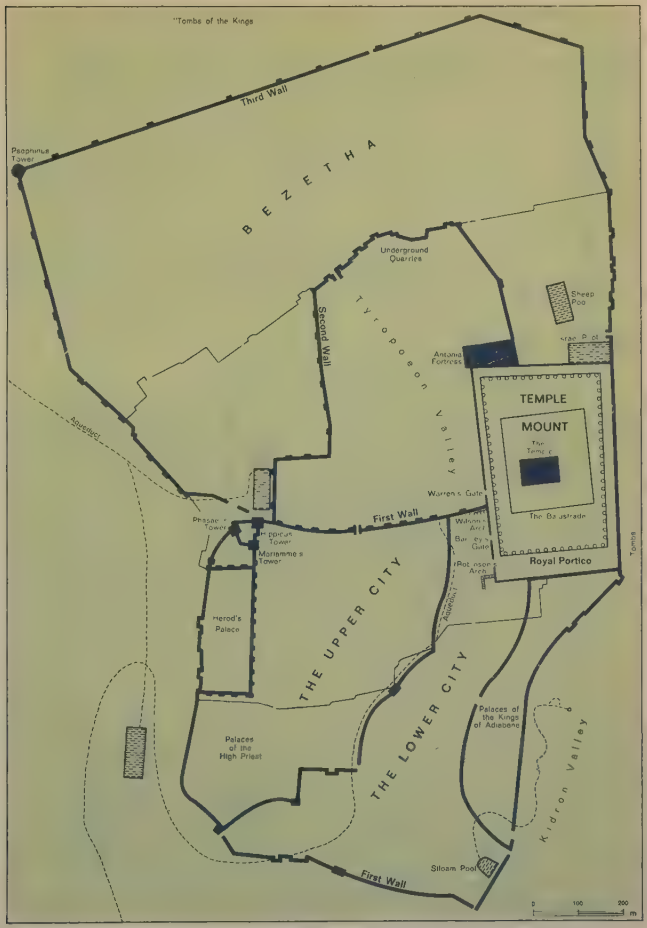
7. Jerusalem during the time of the Second Temple (after Avi-Yonah).



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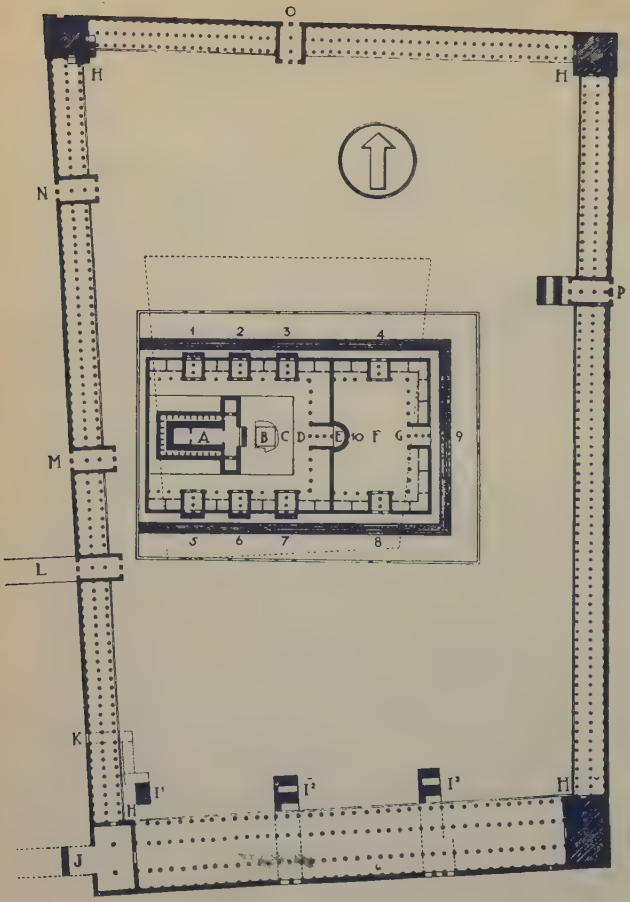

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